

Arafat Names Israeli As PLO's Delegate to World Socialist Group

By E.J. Dionne

New York Times Service

PARIS — Yasser Arafat has appointed a Jewish Israeli to replace Dr. Issam Sartawi as the Palestine Liberation Organization's representative to the Socialist International, according to the PLO's office in Paris.

Mr. Arafat appointed Ian Halevi, a journalist who also holds French citizenship, at the closing session of the conference in Lisbon, the PLO office said. Dr. Sartawi was assassinated Sunday, just before the organization's final session.

Mr. Halevi said in an interview on French television that he understood that a majority of Israelis would consider his posture an act of "treason."

"Israel and the PLO are in a state of war," he said, "and technically I am liable to the accusation of high treason and an attack on the security of the state."

Mr. Halevi said he had worked with the PLO for five or six years. There was no immediate confirmation of his appointment from the Middle East.

Dr. Sartawi, a heart surgeon, was a Palestinian who had arranged meetings between the PLO leader and activists in the Israeli peace movement. A Palestinian group led by Abu Nidal, strongly hostile to any accord with Israel, claimed responsibility for the assassination.

The PLO's Paris office issued a statement Monday saying that the appointment showed the importance of the organization attached to the dialogue with the Socialist International, a grouping of Socialist parties from around the world.

The PLO appointed Mr. Halevi in order not to permit forces hostile to that dialogue to exploit the disappearance of Mr. Sartawi," it said.

Marek Halter, a pro-Israel peace activist who arranged conversations between Palestinians and Israelis, said Tuesday that he believed Mr. Halevi's appointment could be a victory "for the hard-liners in the PLO" and could hinder further contacts.

"Israelis who want to have dialogue want to do so with Palestinian Arabs," Mr. Halter said in a phone interview from his home in Paris. "They don't want to dialogue with an Israeli Jewish leftist. I think it will be very bad for dialogue between Israel and the Arabs."

Mr. Halevi acknowledged the difficulties during his television interview and said he did not expect to take over all of Dr. Sartawi's functions.

"I am not at all ready to continue Dr. Sartawi's work in the dialogue with Israeli political forces, and I do not think the Palestinian leaders want to ask me to do so," he said. "It is very obvious that being Israeli myself, I would be badly placed to serve as a Palestinian intermediary with political forces in Israel."



Ian Halevi

Mr. Halevi was born in France in 1943 of Jewish parents; his father was Yemantic and his mother was from Istanbul. According to Liberation, the leftist Paris daily, and other accounts, Mr. Halevi spent time in the United States in the mid-1960s, where he was associated with the Black Panthers. Shortly thereafter, he moved to Israel.

He was active in Matzen, a leftist, anti-Zionist grouping that included Trotskyists and dissident Communists. He became a correspondent for Liberation in 1974 and moved to Paris about two years later.

According to Mr. Halter, who debated Mr. Halevi on Belgian television earlier this year, Mr. Halevi's views within the PLO are relatively "moderate" and he appeared to favor a "two-state solution," involving separate Palestinian and Israeli states.

Ethnic Tensions Strengthen Begin's Power Base

The last of three articles on divisions between Israel's two Jewish cultures

By David K. Shipler

New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — The ethnic tensions and socioeconomic divisions among Israel's Jews are exerting a decisive influence on the country's politics, considerably strengthening the power base of Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Sephardic Jews, those mostly from the Islamic countries of North Africa and the Middle East, have been voting overwhelmingly for Mr. Begin and his coalition partners since 1977, when he first defeated the Labor Party and broke its 29-year rule.

Opinion polls show that his appeal continues to grow among Sephardim, who account for a majority of Israel's Jewish population.

In the 1981 elections, 57 percent of the Sephardic voters cast ballots for Mr. Begin's Likud bloc, and 18 percent for other parties in his coalition, according to surveys by Hanoach Smith, a Jerusalem pollster. By contrast, the Likud won only 25 percent of the votes of the Ashkenazim, Jews of European and American lineage.

Since Mr. Begin, who was born in Poland, is an Ashkenazi himself, his Sephardic support is viewed as a product of complex factors reaching far beneath the surface of political attitudes. They tap a wellspring of tensions and beliefs that may govern Israeli political life for many years to come, beyond Mr. Begin's career.

Analyses by political scientists, Israeli journalists, pollsters and Sephardic intellectuals cover several aspects of the Sephardic support for Mr. Begin: the anti-establishment impulses of an alienated and impoverished group; the anti-Arab reflexes of those who suffered as Jews in Arab countries; the political opportunity for Sephardim in the Likud bloc; the hard-line positions of a less-educated population; and affinity for a leader who emphasizes his Jewishness rather than his stewardship of a bold social experiment.

Many Sephardic intellectuals reject the notion of Sephardim as inherently anti-Arab, arguing that Mr. Begin's attraction lies less in his tough policies toward the Arabs than in his avowed Jewishness, his self-assumed role as a leader not just of the Israeli state, but of the Jewish people.

He has always stood well outside the Labor Zionist movement, which sought to build a new, socialist society as a contrast with the archaic society of the *shetls*, or Jewish village communities in Eastern Europe.

Labor Zionism's symbol has been the Kibbutz, the communal enclave of mostly Ashkenazic farmers, and it is a symbol widely

despised by Sephardim as snobbish, well-to-do and fundamentally opposed to the traditions that brought them to the Promised Land.

"In Arab countries, the one who works the land is the lowest in the hierarchy, the *falak*," said Ami Gluska, an army colonel whose family came from Yemen. "The whole ideology of the Labor movement and the concept of Zionism was to bring the people back to the land and to make the people work the land."

By contrast, he explained, Sephardim came generally out of religious motives, as "a fulfillment of the prophecy."

"Their expectation was that they were coming to the land of milk and honey, and the Messiah would solve all their problems," he said. "So it was a shattering of their dreams."

Erez Biton, a poet of Moroccan lineage, sees this basic ideological difference in a political context.

"The people of Europe wanted to build a new kind of life here," he said, "so they wanted to forget the Jewish way of life, which for them was anachronistic."

"With kibbutzim and in other ways, they tried to build a new kind of life with Western values. Sephardim are generally involved with the Jewish tradition more than Ashkenazim, and they think Begin and the Likud are more in connection with the Jewish tradition. They feel that the Labor Party left the Jewish tradition."

Significantly, Mr. Begin's emphatic Jewishness appears to have made many Sephardim feel part of the society in ways they never did under Labor. This translates into a new sense of freedom and participation.

"People who support this government think it is wonderfully democratic that Begin opened the country to them," Mr. Smith said. "Israel is now hearing their side, the second side."

In addition, Mr. Begin's Herut Party has done better than Labor in bringing Sephardic politicians into its Central Committee, making the party into an avenue for Sephardim to move up in politics.

Mr. Smith's surveys have found heavy support among Sephardim for the war in Lebanon, the government's tough policies toward the

Finns Strike in Russia

Readers

HELSINKI — Finnish engineers and foremen went on strike Wednesday at construction projects in the Soviet Union, employers said. There have been about 30 stoppages this year among thousands of Finns working on projects at Kostanovsk and Svetlogorsk, east of the Finnish-Soviet border.

Arabs, its determination to hold the occupied West Bank and its continued construction of Jewish settlements there.

Nevertheless, the stereotype of Sephardim as pro-Begin because they are anti-Arab has been challenged by many Sephardic thinkers, who note the anti-Arab tendencies of Israel's Jewish society as a whole.

They point to the aggressive American-born and other Ashkenazic settlers who harass Arabs on the West Bank, and to the senior Sephardi in the government, Housing Minister David Levy, who emerged as the only cabinet member to warn against sending the Lebanese Christian Phalangists into the Beirut refugee camps last September before they massacred hundreds of Palestinians.

The conventional wisdom of many Ashkenazim, that Sephardic Jews hate Arabs because Arabs persecuted them, appears simplistic. Sephardim had mixed experiences in the Arab countries where many of them lived. Those from Morocco often speak nostalgically of their cordial relations with the Arab majority, though in fact anti-Jewish riots broke out after Israel was created in 1948, prompting large-scale emigration.

In some countries, such as Yemen, Jews were obliged to climb down from their donkeys if they passed a Moslem. The property of Jews was confiscated, bank accounts were seized and synagogues were burned.

But Professor Maurice M. Roumani, who was born in Libya and now heads a Sephardic studies department at Ben-Gurion University in Beer Sheva, contends that Jews suffered less under Moslem rule than in Christian countries.

He and others believe that as Sephardim have begun to embrace their own traditions an affinity for Islamic culture has been nourished.

Meir Shitreet, a Moroccan-born mayor and member of Parliament in Mr. Begin's Herut Party, contends that because Sephardim understand Arab culture they should be put in charge of negotiating with the Arabs.

Last autumn, the Israeli writer Amos Oz went from his kibbutz and sat in a cafe in the mostly Sephardic town of Beit She'an and found himself, as a symbol of the Labor Party, the target of a tongue-lashing by a group of men drinking beer.

In reporting their comments on issues ranging from the status of the occupied territories to the power of the Histadrut, Israel's Federation of Labor Unions, he wrote in the newspaper Davar:

"If they return the territories, the Arabs will no longer turn up for work, and right away you'll make us once more the unskilled workers we used to be. Even only because

of that, we won't let you return the territories."

"Look at my daughter. Today she works at a bank, and every evening an Arab comes to clean the branch office. All you want is to see her thrown out of the bank and working on some textile machine, or that she'll once more clean up the place instead of the Arab, just like my mother cleaned up after you. For that they hate you here."

"As long as Begin is in power, my daughter is safe at the bank. If you return, you'll put her down right away. Even now people keep shouting, 'Let Begin rule!' because even now he does not really rule. You rule the Histadrut, you rule the newspapers and you have the big money, the radio and the television. To this day, you rule Israel."

"But what happened? We put Begin on top of you. Now you put that in your pipe and smoke it. For a long, long time."

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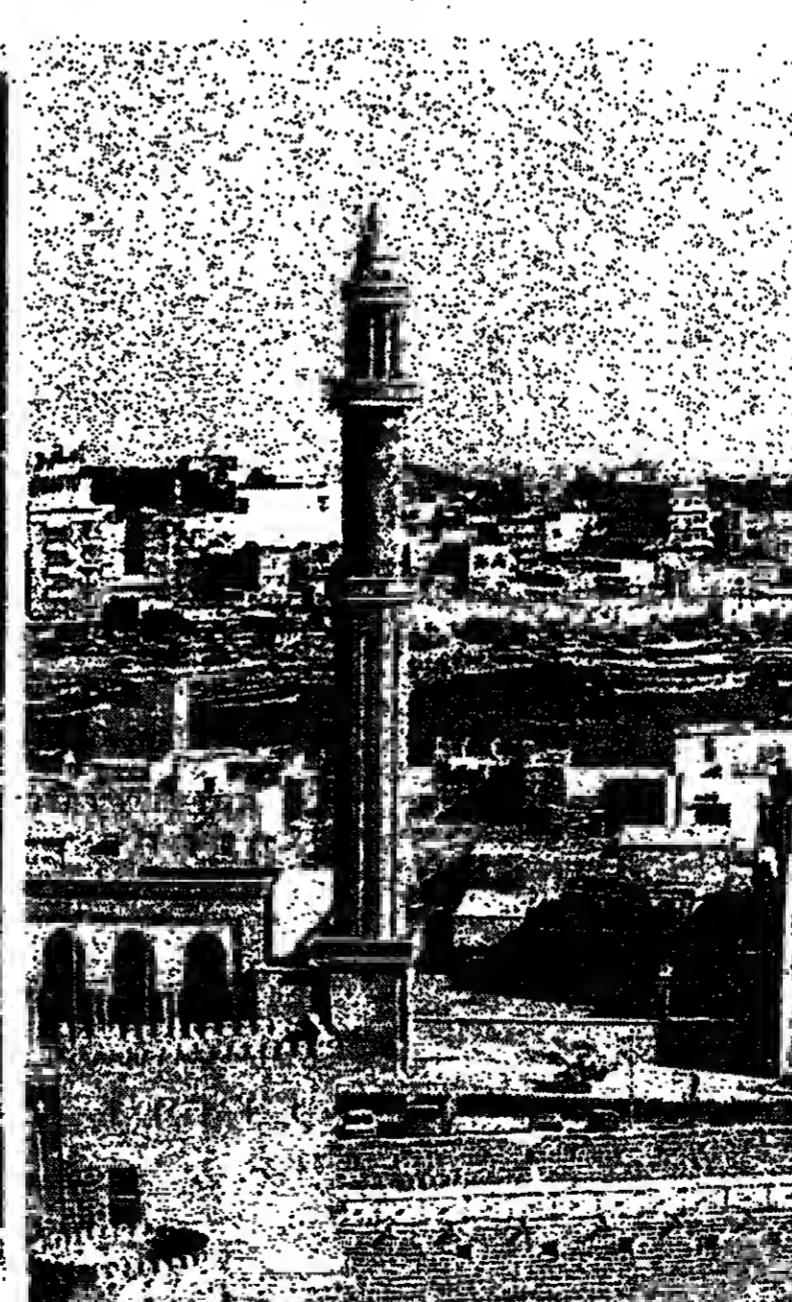
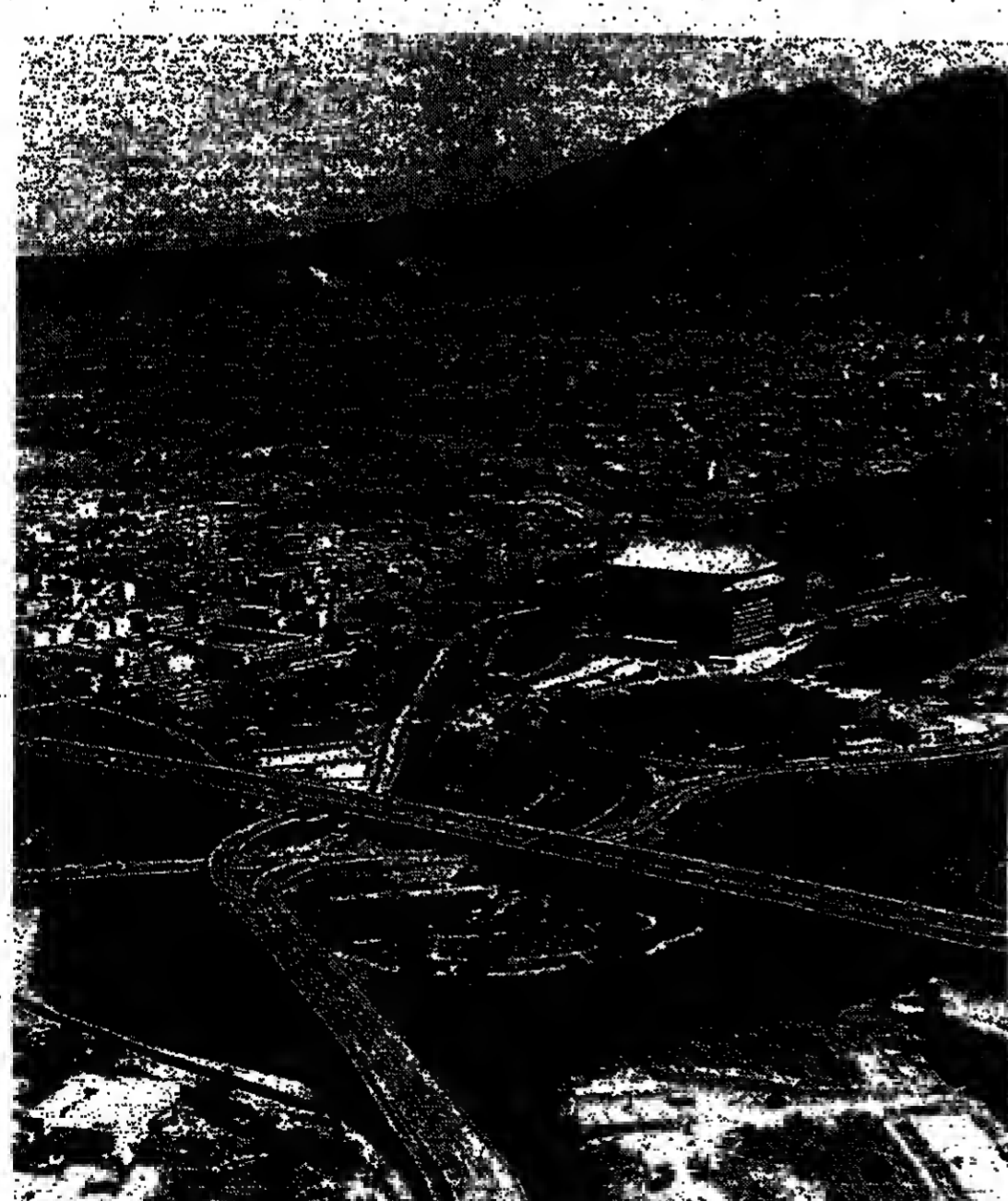
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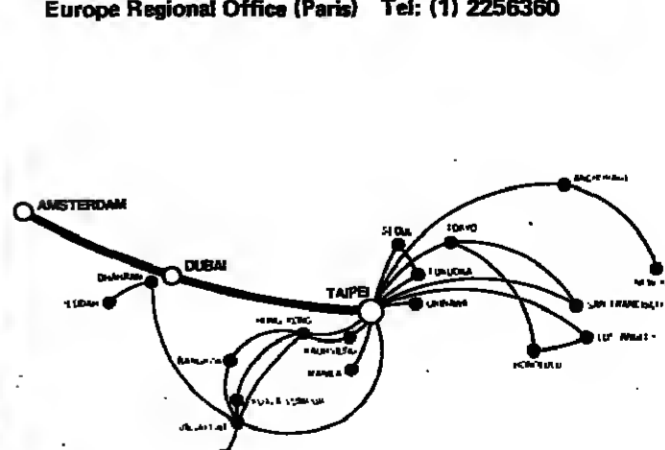
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Critics Assail MX Study, but Say Debate Clarified

By Steven V. Roberts

New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — The recommendation by a presidential commission to base 100 MX missiles in existing missile silos has triggered criticism from a wide range of arms control advocates and congressional opponents of the weapon.

The heart of the critics' argument was that the missiles would not be invulnerable to Soviet attack, and thus were not worth the

billions of dollars they would cost to build. In fact, the critics maintained, the weapons would increase the danger of war by inviting Soviet attack, while draining funds away from other military needs at a time of tight budgets and high deficits.

"This is the time to kill the MX," asserted Representative Les AuCoin, an Oregon Democrat who sits on the defense subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee. "Kill it clean, kill it now."

But as Mr. AuCoin noted, the debate over the MX is now shifting to ground that makes matters harder for the opponents. For the last two years, the issue has been whether to deploy the missile in one of several basing modes. Since each proposal contained obvious flaws, lawmakers were willing to vote for continued delay.

Now that the presidential commission has recommended using existing silos, lawmakers say that the question is being posed in more

direct terms: whether to kill the missile outright or decide to move ahead.

"It's very easy to vote no on an absurd basing mode," said Senator Paul E. Tsongas, a Massachusetts Democrat. "It's more difficult to vote no on a whole system."

Critics of the MX also concede that the advisory report, drafted by a commission headed by Brent Scowcroft, a retired air force general, scored a tactical victory for the supporters. The key move, these

critics acknowledge, was advancing the MX as an interim weapon only, while calling for further research into a smaller and more mobile weapon that could eventually replace the larger missile.

The MX issue will probably reach Capitol Hill in several forms. Under legislation passed last December, the administration cannot spend \$560 million for engineering development of the basing system until Congress specifically approves a basing plan. The lawmakers must act within 45 days after the administration submits such a plan.

Once the administration does endorse the basing plan, probably next week, the 45-day period will begin to run.

In an action separate from the funding of engineering costs, the administration is expected to ask Congress to appropriate funds for the purchase of actual MX missiles.

Outside of Congress, opponents of the MX concentrated on the argument that the missiles were not needed, because the United States already possessed enough weapons. Moreover, they maintained, the original rationale for the MX, the need to build a missile that could withstand Soviet attack, was no longer valid.

Paul C. Warnke, chief American arms negotiator under President Jimmy Carter, said of the MX, "there is literally no justification for it."

And Herbert Scoville Jr., a former deputy director for research of the Central Intelligence Agency, said the missiles were "the most dangerous weapons designed to date. They make nuclear holocaust much more likely."

Cosmos-1452 Launched

The Associated Press
MOSCOW — The Soviet Union has launched Cosmos-1452, Tass reported Wednesday.



The British aircraft carrier Invincible heads into Gibraltar harbor Wednesday.

British Fleet Anchors at Gibraltar; Madrid Strongly Condemns Visit

Reuters
GIBRALTAR — A fleet of British warships, shadowed by the Spanish Navy, anchored off Gibraltar on Wednesday, setting off a storm of protest from Madrid.

Spain denounced the visit as a flagrant violation of its territorial waters and said it would take steps to guarantee its rights.

Two Spanish frigates and a destroyer could be seen in the Bay of Algeiras watching the 12 British ships, which were led by the aircraft carrier Invincible.

Britain said the five-day visit was routine and followed annual exercises in the Atlantic. The British Embassy informed the Spanish authorities in advance, a spokesman said.

However, Madrid said the visit was inopportune in view of the delicate stage of negotiations over the future of the colony, which Britain captured from Spain in 1704.

"We have renounced, with the backing of Spanish public opinion, all violent action, but we will take steps to guarantee our national waters," Foreign Minister Fernando Morán said. Britain's ambassador to Spain, Sir Richard Parsons, was twice called to the Foreign Ministry in Madrid to hear protests.

Spanish officials, who last protested about a similar visit by 24 British ships in 1973, said it smacked of British imperialism after the Falklands war last year.

The carrier Invincible led the force that recaptured the islands

from Argentina. Spanish commentators have noted that Prince Andrew, a helicopter pilot and second son of Queen Elizabeth II, is on board.

The Spanish press denounced the visit, accusing Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of electioneering.

Meanwhile, Spain's new prime minister, Felipe González, said in his first speech to parliament that putting Gibraltar back under Spanish rule would be one of his first priorities.

As a conciliatory gesture, he recently partially reopened the frontier connecting the colony to the Spanish mainland. Franco had shut the gates in 1969 after Gibraltarians voted overwhelmingly in a referendum to remain British.

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**Lagos, Tokyo Most Expensive
In World Survey of 86 Cities**

United Press International

GENEVA — Lagos and Tokyo were the most expensive cities and Mexico City the least expensive in a 1983 survey of 86 cities, an international research organization said Wednesday.

Business International, based in New York, reported that Mexico City received only 41 points on its rating scale, compared with 144 scored by Lagos and 130 by Tokyo, which had similar ratings last year.

Third, fourth, fifth and sixth most expensive were found to be Cairo, 115 points; Caracas, 113; Jakarta, 112; and Riyadh, 110.

Three U.S. cities turned up among the 20 most expensive of the 86 surveyed this year, compared with none in 1982. New York, with 100 points, shared 18th place with Melbourne and Dakar; San Francisco had 102 points and tied with Zurich for 14th. Chicago had 101 points and came in at 16th with Geneva.

The 20 most expensive cities, according to the survey, were: Lagos; Tokyo; Cairo; Caracas; Jakarta; Riyadh; Abidjan, Ivory Coast; Singapore; Oslo; Taipei; Abu Dhabi; Amman, Jordan; Donala, Cameroon; San Francisco; Zurich; Geneva; Chicago; Dakar, Senegal; Melbourne, and New York.

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Bangladeshi Continue Easy Flow Into India

Frontier Is 'Impossible to Patrol' In Some Sections, Official Asserts

By Sanjoy Hazarika
New York Times Service

DALU, India — The low, weathered concrete pillars marking the boundary between India and Bangladesh are difficult to spot from the bumpy dirt road that runs along the frontier.

There are no border patrols in sight, no fences, no walls. After a one-minute walk through harvested rice fields, where farmers rest in the shade of bamboo thickets while watching their cattle, a visitor is in Bangladesh.

It is that simple to cross the 300-mile (480-kilometer) frontier in parts of the northeastern states of Meghalaya and Assam. Local officials and Assamese activists say hundreds of thousands of immigrants have crossed illegally into India here.

The issue was at the center of the agitation during state elections in Assam in February, when more than 3,000 people died in ethnic and religious rioting. Violent inci-

dents and bomb explosions continue to be reported from the state.

The violence occurred after a student-led protest movement, demanding the expulsion of illegal aliens, tried to block or disrupt the elections. Fighting erupted between the Assamese nationalists and tribal groups, who are primarily Hindu, and Bengali-speaking Muslims, some but not all of them from Bangladesh.

"It's impossible to patrol the border at some places," an Indian border-security official said. The problems, he said, resulted from a British civil servant's hasty demarcation of the frontier in the 1947 partition of the subcontinent into predominantly Hindu India and Moslem Pakistan.

In the absence of any visible boundaries, the location of the frontier is often left to the imagination. The short pillars are frequently obscured by shrubs, hillocks, thick jungle, streams and rice fields. They zigzag in bewildering fashion across the countryside, and many patches of Indian or Bangladeshi territory are surrounded on three sides by land of the other nation.

Border officials said many residents of the frontier areas were poor farmers who often slipped across the border to visit relatives or cut bamboo for fuel and construction work or even illegally harvested crops on the other side and carried the produce home.

Incidents are frequent. An Indian official reported that at least 24 Bangladeshis had been killed in the last six months while trying to cross illegally into the West Garo hill district in Meghalaya.

An Indian official estimated that 30,000 illegal migrants had moved into this border district, which has a total population of about 400,000, since 1971.

Bangladeshi nationals are difficult to identify, the official said. "Often they slip into the home of a relative or a friend who has lived here for years," he said, "and begin by working in their fields."

After some years, he added, they would travel by boat or bus farther into Assam and settle along the Brahmaputra River, where earlier immigrants live in thickly populated, tightly organized squatter colonies.

"If you suspect someone and ask him where he came," the official said, "he'll say that he was born in India, had come here some years ago from another part of Assam and produce a score of witnesses to support him."

The anti-immigration protesters fear that the Assamese, who are predominantly Hindu and have their own language, will be swamped by Moslem immigrants and other Moslem, Bengali-speaking people.

The root of discontent on the frontiers is clearly the apprehension of cultural annihilation," said Nari Kustomji, who has held several top administrative posts in northeastern India.

The situation is reported to be still tense in parts of the state, and intelligence sources said it would take at least three or four months for the region to return to normal.



HONORING THE DEAD — Some of the relatives of British servicemen killed in the Falklands war visited the memorial to the Welsh Guards at Fitzroy. The relatives were brought by helicopters to the remote area from Port Stanley. All 541 of the relatives who made the four-day visit to the islands left for home on Wednesday.

Rival Afghan Resistance Groups Reported to Join in Big Ambush

By William Claiborne

Washington Post Service

NEW DELHI — In a significant departure from their usual divisiveness and unrelenting, three rival Afghan resistance organizations cooperated in the ambush of a large Soviet and Afghan military convoy and seized a quantity of arms and ammunition, according to Western diplomatic reports from Kabul.

The attack on April 1, one of several rebel offensives in the Shomali district between Kabul and the Hindu Kush mountain range recently, was coordinated several days in advance on the basis of intelligence reports that the military convoy would pass through the Panjshir valley between the towns of Najrab and Tagab, the diplomatic sources said Tuesday.

The three groups of the frequently factional Mujahidin resistance which participated in the ambush, according to diplomatic reports from Kabul, were the Hezb-i Islami, the Jamiat-i Islami and the Harakat-i Inqilab-i guerrilla units.

The ideologically diverse and frequently competitive rebel groups have been known to be divided in the past. The reports from Kabul said that none of the forces led by Ahmed Shah Masoud, rebel commander of the Panjshir valley, was involved in the attack.

According to the Kabul reports, the combined rebel force split the military convoy in half and surrounded the trailing column of armored Soviet and Afghan vehicles, killing and capturing a large number of troops. After the battle, which lasted into the night, the rebels eluded Soviet air strikes and escaped into the hills, the reports said.

Two days later, according to the diplomatic reports, rebel forces attacked a Soviet force outside of Opian, near the Parwan provincial capital of Charikar, and destroyed

at least five armored vehicles. Intense fighting was also reported in the town of Ghazni, between Kabul and Kandahar, and in Maidan Shahr, just south of the Afghan capital.

According to diplomatic reports from Kabul, the Afghan rebel leader, Sayed Mohammed Hassan Jaglan, principal commander of the moderate Hazarajat provincial revolutionary council, who last year

was reported to have made a non-aggression pact with the Soviet-backed regime headed by Babrak Karmal, has renewed his resistance activities.

This resistance leader was said to have revived his conscription system to build a regular force of 3,000 rebels, supported by a large number of irregulars, and to have established a base outside of Ghazni.

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There was no official explanation for the role, but knowledgeable Romanians said it probably was aimed at curtailing a steady flow of typewritten leaflets critical of the Communist regime that have circulated clandestinely in recent years.

In Vienna, a Western observer said the measure was designed primarily to suppress publication of written material by ethnic Hungarians, German and other dissidents, who have complained in recent months about increasing persecution.

The decree directed the Interior Ministry, which supervises the police and security forces, to register and control the "manufacture, possession and use" of typewriters and copying machines.

Typewriter owners now will be

U.S. Craft on Mars Remains Silent

By George Alexander
Los Angeles Times Service

PASADENA, California — The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has given up as dead the Viking 1 spacecraft on Mars since the unmanned probe has not been heard from for six months.

NASA officially proclaimed the craft's demise Tuesday. Engineers at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory near Pasadena, California, are still hopeful, however. They agree that Viking 1's long silence is ominous, but they refuse to give up until May, when there may be another

opportunity to communicate with it.

The engineers have been controlling Viking 1 and 19 other probes from a flight operations center on the laboratory's grounds. They had been communicating with Viking 1 on the average of once a week.

But the communications began growing weaker last year, according to George Gianopoulos, the Viking project manager. In November 1982, Viking 1 stopped sending messages altogether.

"We had been having a problem with its batteries," Mr. Gianopoulos said. "They were showing signs of old nickel-cadmium units starting

to run down. And we've been aware that Viking 1's antenna may not be pointed correctly at Earth. But had this been all that was wrong, we should have been able to fix it."

The last commands to Viking 1 were sent in late February.

Viking 1 was one of two landers that settled on Mars in 1976, each having been dropped from an orbiting spacecraft. They were to look for signs of life on Mars (none were found), to analyze its soil, to monitor the planet's weather and to detect seismic tremors. The orbiters took pictures of the terrain.

Christina Stead Dies in Australia; Novelist Was 80

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Christina Stead, 80, an Australian-born novelist and short-story writer, died March 31 in Sydney.

Her best-known book is "The Man Who Loved Children," published originally in 1940 and hailed as a "modern masterpiece" when it was re-issued in 1965.

Born in Sydney in 1902, Miss Stead graduated from Teachers' College, Sydney University, and in 1928 moved to Europe where she worked at a variety of jobs in London and Paris.

She had written a book of short stories while in Australia, some of which formed the basis of a collection of stories that was published in England and the United States in 1934. She traveled throughout Europe with William J. Blake, an American writer of historical romances whom she later married, and moved to the United States in 1937.

In the early 1940s, Miss Stead was a screenwriter for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. She and Mr. Blake moved back to Europe in 1947 and settled down near London. Mr. Blake died in 1968. She returned to Australia in 1974.

One of her early novels, "House of All Nations," a tale of financial manipulation in Paris at the beginning of the Depression, was a big seller in 1938.

Other deaths: Georges Albertini, 71, founder and editor of the monthly anti-Communist magazine "Est-Ouest," and counselor to such political figures as President Georges Pompidou of France and Mayor Jacques Chirac of Paris, March 30 in Paris. Lanfranco Rasponi, 69, publicist and author, last weekend in Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Rasponi had represented such singers as Renata Tebaldi and Franco Corelli in New York during the 1940s and 1950s.

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Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

'To Save the Land'

It is said that Jordan still cannot see its way to sitting down with Israel. Who knows when, or if, as good an opportunity for peace may arise again? Still, you can hardly blame King Hussein, given his absolute requirement not to get out of step with the PLO. He tried, and for awhile it looked as though Yasser Arafat would join a negotiating partnership with him. But Mr. Arafat suddenly changed his mind, or could not swing key factors, or was intimidated by hints of the violence that killed his moderate colleague in Portugal, or was pressured or bought off by Syria or Libya, or whatever. Consultations continue, the Reagan administration insists. But there should be a difference. In the four years since Camp David created the Palestinians' first new political opening in 30-odd years, and in the seven months since President Reagan reshaped it, the frailties of the PLO have become apparent. No one concerned with Palestinian dispersion and disenfranchisement can count on the PLO. It lost its last military option in Lebanon last summer and it may now have cast away its lone live political option. By insisting on getting all — a pre-cooked Palestinian state — it ensures that it gets nothing.

It will be said that the PLO's default leaves Israel morally as well as politically free to consummate the annexation of the West Bank.

But the Palestinian people cannot be penalized indefinitely for the shortcomings of the PLO. Notwithstanding the huge boost that the Arafat negationism gives to Israeli annexationists, it is wrong for the future of the occupied territories to be decided by force alone. The key fact is that the statehood-or-nothing approach of the PLO has only feeble support among West Bankers. Their priority is to stop the pouring of Israeli concrete — "to save the land," as King Hussein put it — to ease the Israeli occupation. Those who would be constructive now must find ways to encourage this pragmatic gradualist temper.

President Reagan will be faulted for the moderation of his Sept. 1 plan and for not playing his hand with enough skill or muscle. But his plan was right. It was designed to give Israel a negotiating partner and the Palestinians a homeland. No U.S. diplomatic method can satisfy absolutism of the PLO's sort.

It would be foolish to chase further after the PLO. But it would be shortsighted not to continue the effort to draw out a Palestinian negotiating partner on the West Bank. No one can be sanguine, but it remains true that only in negotiations can Israelis be expected to make the concessions and, they should understand, reap the benefits that add up to peace.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

A Strategic Innovation

President Reagan's commission on strategic forces makes the best case it can for the MX, the missile so long in search of a mission, and the case is still not persuasive. But this distinguished panel has at last produced a clear and comprehensive analysis that argues impressively for a radical innovation: the urgent production of a small, single-warhead missile that would enhance both America's defenses and the chances for effective arms control.

The commission recommends a debatable deployment of 100 huge MXs by 1986 in the existing Minuteman silos. But it would then shift to the smaller missile, probably mobile, by 1993 and to a new approach to arms control to limit warheads instead of launchers. Above all, it has demystified the issues and provided enough expert information to let Congress reach its own conclusions.

A sober debate will surely ratify the recommended shift to a one-warhead "Midgetman." Together with a shift in arms control proposals, that could encourage both the United States and the Soviet Union to move gradually away from the multiple-warhead missiles that make the arms race so unstable.

The Scowcroft commission suggests a \$5-billion effort to develop Midgetman by 1987, aiming for deployment in the early 1990s. It rightly concludes that this small missile, and not the MX, offers the answer to America's land-based missile problem.

The existing 1,000 Minuteman missiles are potentially endangered not so much by the size and accuracy of Soviet missiles as by the number of warheads they carry. Thus some 300 of the Russians' 1,400 ICBMs could theoretically take out most of America's 1,650 Minuteman warheads, leaving abundant power to discourage American retaliation. But if both sides were limited to roughly equal numbers of single-warhead missiles, such pre-emptive attacks would become unprofitable. Al-

lowing for misfires and misses, an attacker would have to expend more than 200 missiles to destroy a mere 100 enemy warheads.

Shifting to Midgetman is not without its own problems. If the Soviet Union joined the shift, as few as 300 on each side might eventually suffice. They could then be based in silos, where control, communications and verification are all more secure. But if America shifted alone, it might need several thousand missiles in mobile form. A mobile design is therefore essential at the outset, leaving many basing and verification problems to be solved.

That leaves a gap of about a decade, during which the Scowcroft commission would fill in with some MX deployments. It would put them in Minuteman silos — contending that Mr. Reagan and others have exaggerated the significance of their vulnerability. But if that is so, there is not much of a case left for the MX. For with minor changes the commission's argument for an interim MX can also justify quite another solution: a speedup in developing the Trident-2 submarine missile.

The commission would risk putting MXs in Minuteman silos because it thinks American bombers and submarines can effectively deter surprise attack for at least a decade more. It says 100 MXs would not threaten the Russians with a pre-emptive all-out assault, but would be a good enough "first-use" force to counter a Soviet attack against the European allies. And their number could always be increased, if needed, as a prod to negotiations. But the Trident-2 could do all that from invulnerable bases at sea. And if ever Minuteman ceases to be a convincing deterrent in allied eyes, the Trident-2 could also be substituted on land.

In sum, the MX is still begging for a purpose. But the facts are becoming clear, and a prudent course for America's strategic weapons is finally coming into view.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

Another Victory for Gandhi

Coming hard on the heels of the success of "Chariots of Fire" last year, which was also acclaimed best film, the victory of "Gandhi" sets the seal on the remarkable comeback of the British film industry.

The message that comes across strongly is the generosity of Hollywood in voting its most coveted awards twice in a row to a British production. The odds were weighed against it. The simple explanation seems to be that the Academy voted for sheer quality — and, perhaps, admiration for the 20-year struggle Sir Richard had to get the film made at all.

But there is another aspect to this triumph which in the fervor of the moment may be overlooked. "Gandhi" is a film that moves like any of its rivals in the prevailing mood of the time as other Oscar winners in other times have evoked the sentiments of their year. You may not agree with those sentiments. You may think they're just an expression of a trendy, liberal fringe. But nevertheless they're held by a deeply committed and growing minority.

Gandhi's example of passive resistance to influence political decisions reflects the feelings of people all over the world today, worried about the nuclear deterrent, unemployment and the economic situation. At a period when the ordinary person may feel helpless in

the face of situations over which they appear to have no control, the story of Gandhi is of a man who rallied the forces of right, as he saw it, not by violence or terrorism but by stubborn tenacity and faith. And he won. It's the battle between the forces of right and the forces of public response, and the Academy members are as much members of the public as any of us.

— Margaret Huxman and Quentin Falk in the Daily Mail (London).

What is perhaps most remarkable about "Gandhi" is that after 20 years of Aitkenborough's efforts, anyone stumped up the cash for the venture. It was James Lee, Goldcrest's chairman and chief executive of its parent, Pearson Longman, who nudged Pearson away from its more conventional interests — the Financial Times and Penguin Books.

While one may argue about the artistic merits of "Gandhi" over its rivals, the fact that it was financed at all, after so many years of Aitkenborough's fruitless searching, depended more on Pearson Longman's changing nature than the quality of the subject.

What it has proved is a truism the British film business forgot: that a good picture attracts audiences and acclaim. What "Gandhi" does not offer is a miracle ingredient to solve a sorry film industry's ills.

— David Hewson in The Times (London).

FROM OUR APRIL 14 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1908: Fire Rages in Boston

BOSTON — The fire which raged all day yesterday in Chelsea is the most serious blaze in Boston since the great fire of 1872, which burned the chief business portion of the city and destroyed property to the tune of \$74,000,000. An area of about 500 acres has been devastated, and the property loss is estimated at \$15,000,000. Probably 12,000 persons are homeless; 10,000 are camped near the army barracks, where thousands of tents have been erected for their use. Among the buildings destroyed are two libraries, two hospitals, and the Marine Hospital and Naval Hospital, 13 churches, the courthouse, the city hall, the soldiers' home, five banks, 200 business buildings and 600 or 700 dwellings.

1933: Moscow Trial Continues

MOSCOW — Introduction of a deposition in the handwriting of William Thornton, which he had stated that 27 British employees of Metropolitan-Vickers were engaged in the U.S.S.R. in military, political and economic espionage, featured the second day of the trial. Faced with this deposition, Thornton stated firmly: "I deny everything I said in this document. I lied against myself and against others." MacDonald, whose plea of guilty to espionage and sabotage charges was the sensation of the first day's session, changed his plea to "not guilty." Within a few minutes after the "not guilty" plea, MacDonald switched again and testified to the truth of the statements he had made.

Ignorance, Fear, Bad Faith and Lots of Big Power

By William Pfaff

PARIS — A recent Warsaw "disinformation" story holds that Zbigniew Brzezinski, the former U.S. national security adviser, was responsible for the election of Pope John Paul II. The attitudes that seem to lie behind this propaganda exercise are interesting and troubling.

The Warsaw story claims to quote a memorandum from Mr. Brzezinski to President Jimmy Carter in March 1978 outlining a plan to create unrest in Poland and pull it out of the Soviet orbit. Cardinal Karol Wojtyla's installation as pope was, by implication, a part of this plan.

There is more to this. According to a Washington report being circulated by the U.S. Information Agency, a Soviet intelligence service document exists which draws exactly this same conclusion — not for propaganda ends but for the guidance of the Soviet government itself.

This analysis, which U.S. officials describe as an "undoubtedly authentic" KGB appraisal of the pope's election, claims that Mr. Brzezinski and another Polish-American, Cardinal John Joseph Krol of Philadelphia, organized the other American cardinals and influenced the West Germans to vote as a bloc for Cardinal Wojtyla at the October 1978 papal conclave.

An anti-communist Polish-American in the White House, a Polish-American cardinal in Philadelphia, a first Pope elected pope, the emergence of Solidarity in Poland, influenced by Polish Catholic intellectuals and enjoying the church's support — it all seems to fit together. All too plausible is that a Soviet intelligence analyst would put all of it together and add it up to make five.

The story fits Soviet mirror-thinking. If the KGB could rig the election of the pope it would surely do so. The notion that American cardinals

might resist manipulation by Mr. Brzezinski and the CIA would seem unlikely to a Soviet analyst. Cardinals by definition are reactionaries, serving a reactionary interest.

From such a Soviet analysis the conclusion equally would follow that this pope must be stopped. The attempted assassination of John Paul II and the alleged plan to kill Lech Walesa while on a visit to Rome both make sense if the Soviet government believed it was being attacked by the United States at the most vulnerable point in its East European security system, in Poland.

The United States would seem to be circulating this report because it reinforced the evidence that Italian services have revealed of Bulgarian, and implicitly Soviet, involvement in the papal attack and the Walesa plot. But it shows something else. It suggests an astonishing Soviet fear of American power, of the effectiveness of CIA conspiracies — able to reach into the Vatican itself at the moment of a pope's election.

The picture of the Soviet Union which this story suggests is far from that ordinarily offered by Washington. This is not a Russia which is sure of itself, aggressive and expansionist, confident of military superiority over the West and ready for a nuclear war which it expects to fight and win.

This does not sound like a Russia confidently driving for the warm waters of the Arabian Sea, master of the Horn of Africa, deploying its submarines toward the Panama Canal, Mexico, the Rio Grande — soft underbelly of the United States.

This looks like a worried Russia. It is the same one we have just seen revealed in France's expulsion of 47 Soviet diplomats and other residents in France. It is a U.S.S.R. conducting

unprecedentedly large, risky and politically costly intelligence operations in the West to obtain technology and industrial processes hopelessly beyond its means to develop at home.

The Soviet spies expelled from France were not interested in state secrets or in infiltrating the government. According to the French Ministry of the Interior, they were conducting a "systematic search throughout the national territory for scientific, technical and technological information, particularly in the military domain."

In the Soviet-U.S. relationship today there is a mirror-imaging of fear. Both sides act as if their backs were

to the wall. Little that happens between them is allowed to possess independent cause or motive. Poles, Afghans, Nicaraguan Sandinistas, Salvadoran rebels, the pope — all act on the orders of their "masters."

People in the government in Washington have expressed much confidence recently that the hardened statements and decisions of the Soviet Union in recent weeks mean nothing serious. These are held to be propaganda which will pass.

I am not so sure. The amount of miscalculation, ideological preconception, bad analysis, fear (justified and otherwise), and ill will between the two countries seems to me never

to have been higher since the death of Stalin 30 years ago.

For the two sides to see one another truly would not mean that they would make peace with one another. That is the liberal fallacy — that international conflict is merely the result of misunderstanding. The fundamental hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union is based on misunderstanding: it is inevitable, given the rival political and moral commitments of the two.

What is not inevitable is that they conduct their relations amidst culpable ignorance, with fear and faith their counsellors. That seems very close to the case today.

International Herald Tribune
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Superpower Distrust Seems Mutual

By Stanley Karnow

WASHINGTON — We know what Ronald Reagan thinks of the Russians, but what do the Russians think of him?

For Mr. Reagan the Kremlin is the "focus of evil." He has made clear that he regards the Soviet rulers as aggressive and untrustworthy. His view borders on a kind of fundamentalism, and the Soviets come close to the truth when they describe it as "primitive" anti-communism.

Public Soviet portrayals of Mr. Reagan are equally harsh. They depict him and his aides as the "most reactionary" U.S. administration in a generation. Among some high Moscow officials there is a note of disappointment in this appraisal.

The Soviet hierarchy is not a monolith. It has its moderates, its hard-liners and its fence-sitters, as does the American government. Recent visitors to Moscow, including

some who insist on anonymity, have found a spectrum of opinion about the United States. Overall, though, they report that senior Soviet officials are deeply pessimistic about the prospects of an accommodation with the Reagan team. Some concede that their early hopes for a rapprochement have evaporated.

The more sophisticated among them had originally reckoned that Mr. Reagan and his first secretary of state, Alexander Haig, might be the reincarnation of Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger. They had expected that, like Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger, the conservative Reagan would be immune from attacks from the right in the United States and could thus turn the clock back to the cooperative days of détente. Indeed, many

were even looking forward to Mr. Reagan after Jimmy Carter, who baffled and confused them as much as he puzzled and confounded the American public. The Russians prefer a clear-cut "reactionary" to an enigma. But Mr. Reagan, unlike the pragmatic Nixon, has come across as a radical right-winger, even more doctrinaire than the Soviets imagined. A top Soviet figure referred to him as an "extremist."

The Soviets admit that Mr. Reagan has displayed a measure of flexibility. He lifted the embargo on grain sales and he backed away from his attempt to abort the Soviet natural gas pipeline to Western Europe. As they see it, though, those moves were due less to a desire to improve relations with the Soviet Union than to domestic and international pressures. In their view Mr. Reagan's basic goals are unalterably hostile.

They point out that he wants to reestablish global U.S. predominance, block the extension of Moscow's influence in the world and then go on to foment trouble within the Soviet empire. With such aims, they say, détente is unlikely.

Still, according to my informants, they perceive a ray of hope in the possibility that Mr. Reagan may be constrained by realities at home and abroad. Looking at the pipeline squabble, for instance, they conclude that the West European countries share Mr. Reagan's belligerence toward the Kremlin. So, they estimate, he may be compelled to dilute his position in order to keep the Atlantic alliance intact.

They take the U.S. nuclear freeze movement seriously. They disagree with its objectives, which also call for a freeze of the Soviet arsenal, but they regard it to be a symptom of growing domestic U.S. opposition to Mr. Reagan's arms buildup.

Their propaganda apart, they realize that the American economy is robust and getting stronger. Still they calculate, Mr. Reagan's military expenditures will increase the U.S. budget deficit and force his retreat.

Thus the Soviets do not seem to be truly alarmed by Mr. Reagan even though they do not anticipate progress in their negotiations with him. Their strategy, consequently, is to wait him out. Perhaps his success will be better, they speculate.

What is worrisome in all this, I think, is that their lack of hope for reconciliation is driving them to fortify their own military establishment with the result that there seems to be no end in sight to the arms race.

They have of course been building bigger and bigger weapons for years, and their present effort to compete militarily with the United States cannot be blamed on Mr. Reagan. Even so, he is not offering them incentives to move toward an arms control agreement, as Mr. Nixon did.

At best, the period ahead augurs a deadlock in relations. But the continuing arms race is an extremely dangerous prospect, if only because nuclear war could erupt by accident.

Tribune and Register Syndicate.

Gandhi the Political Strategist May Be Relevant to the 1980s

By Gene Sharp

NORTH DARTMOUTH, Massachusetts — Mohandas K. Gandhi is remembered by most people as a remarkable ascetic whose power depended on the spiritual magnetism of his personality. But Gandhi was more than a charismatic leader. He was a pioneering political strategist, the most significant single innovator of nonviolent political struggle in this century.

"The English nation responds only to force," Gandhi asserted. He therefore led resistance struggles to mobilize the needed force non-violently, arousing the formerly passive masses to take part in marches, pickets, economic boycotts, civil disobedience, political noncooperation and the creation of parallel government.

His experiment with "war without violence" is significant today because it offers a practical, effective substitute for violence for political ends. Recently, social scientists have begun to study nonviolent political struggle to learn about its nature, dynamics and requirements for success against diverse opponents. Scholars, politicians and even military strategists have begun to examine its practical potential in current political and international conflicts.

Gandhi's nonviolent strategy was based on a fundamental insight into the nature of government: All rulers are in fact dependent for their power on the submission, cooperation and obedience of their subjects. By withdrawing this cooperation, people can cut off the sources of the rulers' power, forcing the government to a standstill or even disintegrating it.

Nonviolent action had a long but largely unknown history. Gandhi consciously built on precedents from Ireland, Africa, Russia, England and China, as well as India. He broadened and refined the technique's strategy and tactics and developed new forms of civil disobedience, political noncooperation and nonviolent intervention, linking it all with a program for social change and for building new institutions.

India's adoption of nonviolent struggle to achieve independence was not a moral or doctrinal act but a political one. Gandhi could rally the people to nonviolent campaigns because

they recognized the technique as a practical and effective alternative to submission and violence.

The success of nonviolent struggle cannot be attributed simply to the particular Indian situation, or, as many critics have claimed, to the "gentleness" of the British. By withdrawing obedience and cooperation, nonviolent struggle strikes at the roots of the power of all rulers — as the victory, Lord Irwin (later the Earl of Halifax), declared in 1930.

The current dependence on military force to fight oppressors and aggressors is based on the belief that there exists no viable alternative. Gandhi's challenge — and that of Solidarity in Poland, among others — is that an effective alternative exists. By applying powerful political, social, economic and psychological weapons, it is a means of struggle that can preserve and extend freedom in the face of modern tyranny.

Gandhi foresaw that nonviolent struggle would grow beyond his experiments, as indeed it has, and that it could be refined, its effectiveness deliberately increased and the technique made practical for future conflicts.

Nonviolent uprisings in 1944 toppled military dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala within days. Could it be done in the 1980s? Non-cooperation defeated Vidkun Quisling's plan for a "corporate state" in occupied Norway. In several countries it saved many Jews.

How could people become better prepared for such struggles in the future? In communist Poland, as in British India, the regime is torn between repression and accommodation in the face of dissatisfaction and resistance. How can democratization be advanced there and elsewhere?

Improved nonviolent resistance in Czechoslovakia in 1968-69 held off full Soviet control for eight months, when military demonstrations would have been futile. West Germany's Greens have advocated a national defense policy of prepared mass noncooperation and defiance, aimed to attack any Soviet invaders at their weakest points: The need for submission of the population, and for reliable troops and functionaries. Will the electoral successes of the Greens, or



the investigations in progress by the Swedish and Dutch governments, lead to gradual adoption of nonmilitary, civilian-based means of deterring and defeating aggression?

Gandhi would have argued that nonviolent struggle is relevant as a substitute for guerrilla warfare in Central America, as an alternative to nuclear weapons in Europe, as a technique of self-liberation in Eastern Europe and as a means of struggle superior to war and terrorism in the Middle East and Northern Ireland.

Is it possible that he would have been right? The military options for waging these conflicts have serious limitations and problems. We need investigations of whether nonviolent struggle might have a greater practical potential than most people have thought.

The writer teaches political science at Southeastern Massachusetts University and is an associate of Harvard's Center for International Affairs and author of "Gandhi as a Political Strategist" and "The Politics of Nonviolent Action." He contributed this article to the Los Angeles Times.

Meanwhile, the Military Space Age Has Already Arrived

By Flora Lewis

LONDON — A small group of people, including some top experts on space war, has held a conference near here on the military use of space. Their chilling conclusion was that the military space age has arrived and cannot be revoked. The question remains: are there will be weapons in space and war in space. Even more chilling is the fact that these experts don't agree whether the possibility is good or bad for the United States.

There is, the experts said, remarkably little time left to make policy decisions that will lead America toward the "new high ground," as advocates call space, in the military sense of seeking dominance, or away from it toward arms control.

The little-noticed establishment of an Air Force Space Command last year was more important than President Reagan's recent call to seek an anti-missile weapon in space. It created an organizational base for those who want to challenge the Russians on their own terms because they think there is a chance of breaking out of military balance to decisive superiority.

They argue, as Fred McWhorter, secretary of defense, has put it, that this would move war "out there where the people aren't." They speak in terms of a more secure defense, but it is clear they think this would also reduce inhibitions on forceful pursuit of American interests on Earth.

They do not discuss what wars are about or what they are supposed to solve. They seem to take it for granted that competition with the Russians is bound to bring conflict some where, so they suggest space not only because it is distant but because they believe the United States can permanently hold the lead.

Richard L. Garwin, who helped build the H-bomb and has worked for 32 years on exotic weapons and defense developments, warned a Senate committee against these beliefs last fall. "Space wars are not an alter-

native to war on Earth," he said. "In my view they are a prelude to war on Earth." And he added that "we are on the verge of war in space" because of weapons the Soviet Union has tested and better ones the United States is preparing.

It is true that the space-based laser or electronic beam Mr. Reagan had in mind to shoot down Earth-based nuclear missiles is 20 or 30 years away, if it ever proves feasible. But the risk of space war is no longer science fiction because of the development of anti-satellite weapons, or ASATs, the jargon.

Studies of defense against missiles and attacks on satellites are conducted separately, but the link is inescapable. An anti-missile ray would have to be stationed on a satellite and would only be as secure as the satellite's invulnerability to ASATs, including minuscule "space mines" that Mr. Garwin's fertile brain has envisaged in quite practical terms.

Work on ASATs is forging ahead now in both the Soviet Union and the United States. Space is already militarized — not with weapons yet, but with surveillance, communications and guidance systems that warn of a potential enemy's activity in peace and direct earth weapons to precise targets in war.

"Sweeping the skies," as military planners call destruction or incapacitation of these satellites, would give the side that managed it such an advantage that the other side would probably consider it the first step to war and might well retaliate on earth. The United States is well ahead of the Russians in these satellite systems. That is a plus so long as they function, but also a weakness because the United States relies on them and could be struck dumb and blind if they were ruined.

Many kinds of countermeasures are possible, but it will also be possible to leapfrog them with new offensive devices. The story of MIRVs, which were supposed to put America far in the lead in the 1960s but spurred Soviet programs endangering the U.S. Minutemen now, is regularly cited by these experts who are convinced that there is no kind of scientific wizardry to assure long-term U.S. superiority. On the contrary, the lesson of MIRV is that another cycle in the arms race only assures soaring costs and greater risk of war.

Does that mean that Ronald Reagan's glint-in-the-eye vision of a defense against nuclear weapons must be totally rejected? Not necessarily. The history of weaponry is a swing between preponderance for defensive and offensive arms. But it does mean the effort must not be allowed to be a race and that the most urgent negotiations are more urgent than ever.

The Russians proposed a treaty to ban certain kinds of ASATs in 1981 after preliminary negotiations broke

down because of the invasion of Afghanistan. None of the American experts find the draft acceptable as is, but those who wisely fear space war urge a counterproposal now.

A Senate resolution asks Mr. Reagan to resume talks for a verifiable ban on anti-satellite weapons as a first step toward prohibiting all space-based and space-directed weapons. Anyone who realizes that war in the sky is far nearer than pie in the sky should urge the Senate to pass pending Resolution 43.

The New York Times.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Gandhi in Our Time

Herbert London, after witnessing the film "Gandhi," concluded some weeks ago (*"The Case Against Passivity,"* *IHT*, Jan. 31) that Gandhi's "spiritual nature did not provide him answers to eschatological questions," and noted that "what this film leaves is an inspiring figure with relatively few prescriptions for our time."

Mr. London was disturbed by the "generalizations that emerge from the film" in audience comment to the effect that this is "what we ought to do against our enemies."

However, Gandhi's preoccupation with the "doctrine of death, judgment, heaven and hell" (eschatology, according to the Oxford dictionary) is overwhelmingly reflected in voluminous writings which even a stray reader could hardly escape.

As regards Gandhi's prescriptions for our time, here is a sample: "One is certain, if the mad race for armament continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history. If there is a victor left, the very victory will be living death for the nation that emerges victorious. There is no escape from the

On Anti-Americanism

Regarding the report "Anti-Americanism in Europe Target of U.S. Strategy" (*IHT*, April 5):

So President Reagan is devising a strategy to counteract anti-Americanism among younger Europeans. I hope he realizes that there is only one way to curb anti-Americanism, and that is not by propaganda but by righting the wrongs that young people are only too aware of. As the front-page article states, "The best educated in their societies were those who appeared most reserved about American society and leadership."

It is the American military buildup, aggressive policies toward the Soviet Union and unshamed intervention in Central America in support of its ideological paranoia and its eco-

nomic interests regardless of the human cost, that disgust us. No, it is not we who need to change our attitudes toward America, it is America that needs to look into its soul with humility and purge itself of nationalistic arrogance and self-righteous hypocrisy. Only then will America earn the respect that Mr. Reagan seeks.

Sir JOHN WHITMORE, London.

Shakespeare Footnote

A brief footnote of correction to "Shakespeare Footnote" (*IHT*, April 8): The Globe theater did not burn down in 1608; the destruction of the theater occurred in 1613 during a performance of Shakespeare's "Henry VIII" when a miscalculated stage effect ignited the building's straw roof. Incidentally, by that time Shakespeare's company was no longer known as the Lord Chamberlain's Men. Some 10 years earlier they had changed their name to the King's Men, having become the official troupe of King James I.

RICHARD LORD, Globe Drama Productions, Frankfurt.

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SCIENCE

Ocean Disturbance Has Wide Effects

By Walter Sullivan

EARLY LAST YEAR a modest increase in air pressure began to be recorded at Easter Island in the southeast Pacific. Although little heed was paid at the time, that increase heralded a sequence of events that have disrupted coastal rains on California, Florida, Ecuador and Peru, swept away some of California's most prized beaches and taken a score of lives there, destroying a dozen piers and many large help beds.

Elsewhere the consequences of that barometric uptick have wrought havoc with Peruvian fisheries, annihilated millions of oceanic birds and devastated Australia with drought. And the end may not be in sight. These events, at whose heart lies an enormous transfer of warm water from west to east across the Pacific, appear to be the most intense and extensive disruption of oceans and atmosphere since detailed records began to be kept early in this century.

The same phenomenon, but on a smaller scale, occurs periodically, manifested chiefly off the west coast of South America, where it brings torrential rains to the arid coastline and disaster to the fishermen of Peru. Because the disturbance typically begins during the Christmas season it is known there as El Niño, from a Spanish name for the Christ child.

THIS TIME, however, the whole eastern Pacific from Chile to Alaska has been affected, with rain as far away as the east coast of North America. And just as it began far earlier in the year than a typical El Niño, it is only now, after more than a year, beginning to show signs of abatement.

Scientists of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and other institutions have learned much about the sequence of events once the process begins. They have used sea-level measurements on islands across the Pacific, observations from earth satellites and ocean buoys, temperature recordings from ships and air-dropped devices.

The prime mystery, is what sets the whole sequence in motion at intervals that have ranged from four to more than 30 years. Because of its somewhat rhythmic recurrence, weather scientists have dubbed it the "southern oscillation." The U.S. assault on its cause is called the ELSON (for El Niño-Southern Oscillation) experiment.

That El Niño might be related to

a slackening of the trade winds was proposed in the 1950s by the Swedish-born meteorologist Dr. Jacob Bjerknes of the University of California at Los Angeles. Normally, the waters off Peru and Ecuador are cool and rich in nutrients, nutrients and phosphates that support the algae that support the long food chain of larger creatures. This food chain of larger creatures, this cool water wells upward to replace warm surface waters blown away from the coast by the trade winds, providing one of the world's most productive fisheries.

When the trade winds slacken, Dr. Bjerknes reasoned, the warm water is no longer blown westward and the nutrient water is buried under a hot, stagnant layer. This process would produce all the observed effects of El Niño: starvation of fish and of the sea birds that feed on them, as well as flooding of the arid coast by rain derived from the warm surface waters.

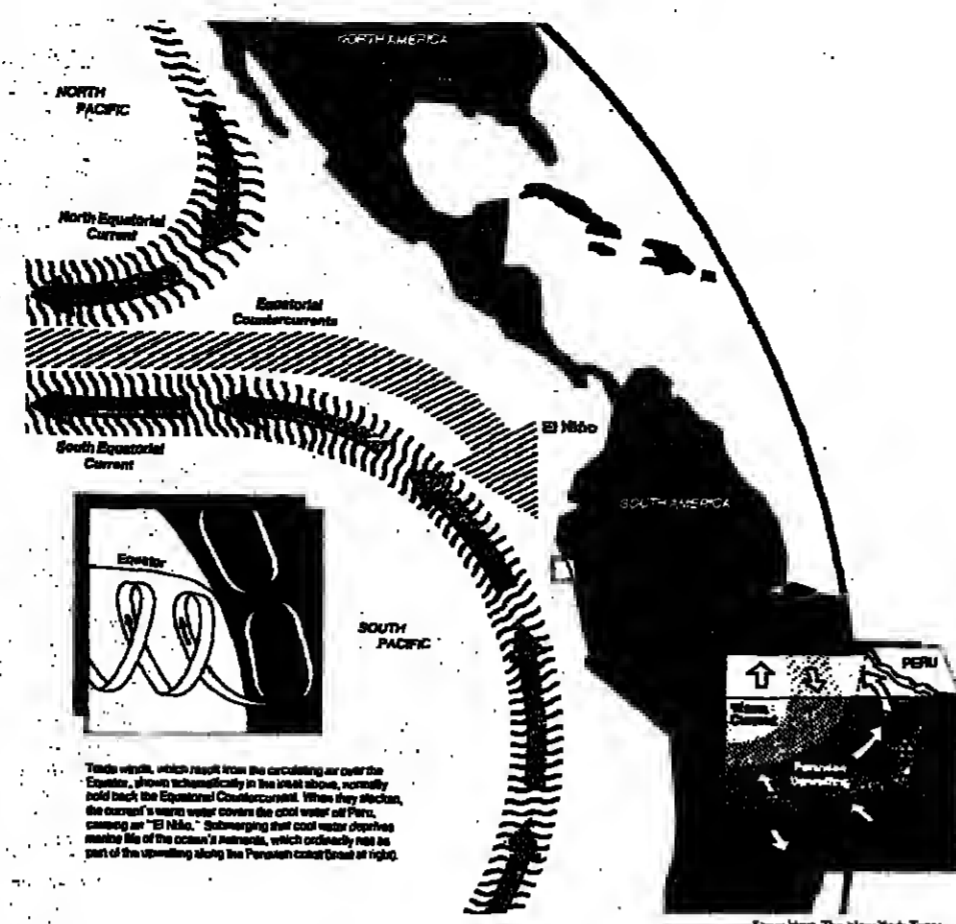
It now appears, however, that a far grander scale of events is involved. Measurements by tide gauges at 33 stations on Pacific islands and at coastal sites have shown that as El Niño evolves, sea levels in the western Pacific subside while those in the east rise.

These observations led Dr. Klaus Wyrtki of the University of Hawaii to propose that an El Niño sequence occurs after prolonged and powerful trade winds have blown large amounts of warm surface water toward the western Pacific. When the winds slacken, he said, this water flows back to the east, burying the cool waters off South America—and, to some extent, as far north as California.

The current El Niño, Dr. Wyrtki said, was "totally" and "I mean totally" unexpected. Not only did it not begin at Christmas, but it did not follow a period of unusually strong trade winds. Nevertheless, a slackening of the winds and a surge of warm water from west to east were documented.

In contrast to earlier El Niños, the oceanic effects were first observed in mid-Pacific, rather than off South America. By last July the sea level at Fanning Island and Christmas Island had risen six to 10 inches. At Palau and Guadalcanal in the western Pacific, the level of the sea sank to from four to six inches below normal. By October, this eastward-moving surge had reached the Galapagos Islands off Ecuador.

Although these sea level changes involve only a few inches, they occur over millions of square miles, causing monumental transfers of



Trade winds, which blow from the southeast over the Pacific, push warm water toward the east coast of South America. When they slacken, the warm water flows back to the west, causing a rise in sea level. This is the El Niño effect, which is the cause of the disturbance along the Peruvian coast (see p. 10).

Source: New York Times

water and heat. In the eastern Pacific, especially off Peru, the surface waters, heated to 11 degrees Fahrenheit above normal, displaced the deep, uniformly cool region of the sea hundreds of feet downward—enough to kill off much of the microscopic life on which the fish depend.

In mid-March Dr. Ralph W. Schreiber of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County reported that 16.5 million sea birds had vanished from their rookeries on Christmas Island.

Last December Dr. Alan E. Strong of the National Environmental Satellite and Data Information Service proposed that the current El Niño was set off when the atmosphere was heated by sulfur compounds thrown into the stratosphere by last spring's eruptions of El Chichón volcano in Mexico.

Unusually warm air at high altitudes, he said, would hamper the normal rising of hot air from lower levels. Ordinarily, after rising, that air then spreads away from the tropics, sinks and rushes back toward the Equator, hugging the surface as the trade winds. Such hot air rises chiefly over equatorial land areas—South America, Africa and particularly Indonesia. If air high over the Equator is heated, Dr. Strong reasoned, hot air would rise from the surface with less vigor, weakening the entire circulation.

Such reduced circulation might have intensified the El Niño process, according to Dr. Eugene Rasmusson of the National Weather Service's Climate Analysis Center in Maryland. But he believes the first sign of an impending El Niño, although not recognized at the time, was recorded early last year, before the El Chichón eruption, in the drop in atmospheric pressures at Tahiti and Easter Island in the central and southeastern Pacific relative to pressures at Darwin on the north coast of Australia, opposite Indonesia.

NORMALLY Indonesia is a low pressure area, feeding the trade winds with air rising over it and descending over high pressure areas to the east, such as Tahiti and Easter Island. Lower pressures at Tahiti and Easter Island presaged a weakening of the trade winds.

As 1982 progressed, the pressure difference between Darwin and Tahiti continued to shrink. At Darwin the normally low pressure reached its highest level in a century. In Tahiti it was the lowest in 50 years.

Upward motion of moist air over Indonesia and northern Australia normally produces rain. Its curtailment produced a severe drought. As the trade winds slackened, warm water surged eastward across the Pacific and a full-fledged El Niño was under way.

Dr. Bjerknes proposed that such

long-range effects of El Niño could result from intensified north-south circulation of the atmosphere, set off by weakening of the east-west movements, but the problem remains unresolved.

There are hints in the eastern Atlantic of events comparable to El Niño. Off the east coast of Africa an upwelling of cool, nutrient-rich water like that off Peru feeds a rich fishery. The phenomenon in the Pacific may be more intense because that ocean is so much larger.

Perhaps, said Dr. Wyrtki, the oscillation represents "a kind of resonance in the entire ocean-atmosphere system." The chief hope for learning the answer probably lies in observations with a wide range of newly developed methods, over a succession of El Niño cycles.

Microbes Lurk in Hospitals

By Philip J. Hiltz

Washington Post Service

A HEALTHY, 6-pound baby girl, sent home with her mother only two days earlier, was rushed back to a Florida hospital in 1979, the third apparent victim of meningitis in the hospital nursery over several months. A few days later she died. A fourth case and a fifth case of the rare infection followed. When doctors began tests they found that more than 150 healthy infants had been infected while passing through the nursery. Two died; three others have permanent paralysis or brain damage.

Circobacter, the rare microbe that caused the epidemic in the Florida hospital, had not been known to strike infants. The Centers for Disease Control investigated and decided that the infection was transferred unwittingly from baby to baby on the hands of the pediatric nurses.

These Florida babies were victims of hospital-caused infections, illnesses that strike hundreds of thousands of Americans each year and kill a minimum of 20,000. The problem is as old as hospitals, but there is something new. We have built great healing institutions and have created ways for the profoundly sick to be treated with miraculous new technology. To these sick people we attach needles, tubes and machines, and each one makes a new path into the body for infectious organisms. For each new instrument, new method and new set of antibiotics, new microbes appear. They develop new poisons, new resistance, new means of transporting themselves.

David E. Rogers, of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, wrote two decades ago about how the old infections were giving way to new ones, and he discussed a new microbe, *Pseudomonas aeruginosa*. This bug now is responsible for tens of thousands of hospital-caused infections and hundreds of deaths a year. Today's medical students learn that it is not only fatal to humans, but also that it is very resistant to drugs.

So it has gone the full gamut, said Dr. William Schaffner, epidemiologist at Vanderbilt University hospitals and chairman of the department of preventive medicine. "It was a brand new organism two decades ago. Then it became recognized as a cause of human disease. And now it has become resistant to treatment. The whole cycle in less than 25 years."

There is no doubt that a hospital is the best place to be when serious illness strikes. But hospital-caused infections, called nosocomial infections in medical literature after an obsolete name for a hospital, cost billions of dollars in extra hospital and doctor charges. And perhaps only 25 percent are preventable even with extraordinary measures, according to the CDC.

The single biggest factor in causing and preventing infections, according to Dr. Robert Haley, head of the hospital's infection branch of the CDC, is one of the oldest on the books: Doctors and nurses need to wash their hands between examinations of patients. Handwashing is critical, but cleanliness in general is not as important in preventing the spread of disease in

hospitals as was once thought. Cultures from walls and floors, collected at the cost of tens of millions of dollars, are largely useless and a waste of money.

Antibiotics, once believed to be the magic-bullet cure for scores of diseases, now turn out to be a cause of disease as well. Because microbes can change from generation to generation, using antibiotics can make new generations of microbes stronger and more resistant to treatment than the ones before them. Antibiotics also can cause trouble when they enter the human system, because they wipe out all the harmless microbes. When the harmless inhabitants are gone, there is free food and space for the more deadly ones.

Almost all disease organisms are becoming more and more resistant to drugs. The dose of penicillin required to treat a common infection is now 50 times that used to treat the same infection 30 years ago.

Microbes seem able to live anywhere. Outside hospitals, bugs can survive, frozen, in the antarctic, or boiled in sulfur in hot springs. In hospitals, they have been found to survive and multiply in distilled water. Doctors at the CDC were stunned when they found that iodine-based antiseptics used to cleanse skin and instruments were now, for the first time known to medicine, growing germs and infecting patients.

After World War II, Dr. Haley said, "we got the antibiotics, and people thought that would be the cure-all. They were used wholesale, both to prevent infection and to cure them. But by the late 1950s we suddenly found ourselves in the middle of a great epidemic of staph infections in hospitals."

THE organism involved — *Staphylococcus aureus* and other varieties — in about 1954 underwent two dramatic changes: It gained resistance to penicillin, and it gained virulence. But eventually, as unexpectedly as they came, the infections died. Other organisms have now risen to take their place. A whole bundle of organisms called as a group "Gram negative bacteria," such as the Serratia, or the Pseudomonas that infected antiseptics, began to appear in more and more outbreaks, in unexpectedly virulent forms.

The latest bug to gain resistance to treatment is one of the oldest and still one of the deadliest scourges of man: the pneumococcal pneumonia. Doctors have watched it for 40 years, and have never seen it resist treatment with penicillin—until now.

"First there was a case in South Africa. Then one in Denver. Now we have spotted many of them across the country," said Dr. Schaffner. "This has come as a great shock."

Even though drug companies have introduced antibiotics in the past year that are effective against Gram negative bacteria, the microbes are still ahead. Richard Wezard of the University of Virginia said, in the hospital's department are beginning to realize the truth in what the eminent microbiologist Stanley Falkow says: "Bet on the microorganisms. We can't beat them. It's all we can do to try to catch up."

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INSIGHTS

U.S. Trade With Iran Resumes Haltingly as New Pragmatism Is Seen

By Martha M. Hamilton
and Thomas W. Lippman

WASHINGTON — Business contacts and commercial agreements between the United States and Iran, interrupted four years ago when Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini came to power, are slowly resuming.

Diplomats, business executives and scholars with contacts in Iran say that a new pragmatism is asserting itself and that some Iranians are again willing to deal with U.S. suppliers or are looking ahead to a time when they will be free to do so.

Known U.S. direct exports to Iran amounted to about \$200 million last year, according to Commerce Department figures. Most of the exports were wheat and rice, but export licenses issued by the Commerce Department in recent months show that the Iranians are also buying electronic and scientific equipment.

Official contacts between the two governments remain confined to the international tribunal in The Hague, which was set up under the terms of the Algiers agreement that gained freedom for the American hostages in Tehran.

The tribunal is considering billions of dollars in claims against Iran by U.S. corporations that formerly did business there, and Tehran's claims against Washington for delivery of vast amounts of weapons and military equipment that were held back when the revolution toppled the regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

Export Licenses Refused

The Iranians have paid for some of the weapons and even have taken title to some of it, according to State Department sources, but the U.S. government has refused to issue the licenses required to export it. If the tribunal should order the release of any of the military equipment, the United States is unlikely to comply, State Department sources said.

The U.S. position is that Iran knew the military equipment was subject to export restrictions and is now trying to use the Hague tribunal to gain access to restricted material.

Despite the absence of official relations between the two countries, however, there is no legal barrier to trade by private business, and several sources report indications that this is resuming.

Just within the last month, according to well-informed sources, a group of Iranian businessmen and technocrats proposed holding an informal meeting in London with prospective U.S. business contacts. Iran's religious rulers frown on overt dealings with Americans, but there is an awareness among Iranians that the situation might change after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, who is 82 and suffers from heart problems.

The new Iranian approach is said to be discernible to the way the Iranians have begun to settle some of the claims filed by American companies to the Hague tribunal. Iran appears to be giving priority to companies that would logically be future suppliers of needed goods and services, participants in the cases say.

"The pattern has been that Iran will discuss settlements with companies, at least some companies, when it wants to get back into commercial relations with them," said R. Markham Ball, an attorney who represents U.S. claimants.

James R. Utopina, general counsel of Santa Fe International Inc., now a subsidiary of the Kuwait Petroleum Co., said he had heard rumors that Iran would settle outstanding claims filed by oil field equipment suppliers if they would agree to go back into Iran and help rehabilitate the country's damaged oil fields.

More than 3,700 claims were filed with the special tribunal, mostly by U.S. companies against Iran, but several by Iranians against the United States, including the military claims and a demand for compensation for the former Iranian Embassy in Washington.

Of the 965 claims for amounts over \$250,000, only 35 had been adjudicated or settled by April 7, according to the State Department. The largest award was \$7.62 million paid to Pfizer Inc., the pharmaceutical company. E.R. Squibb & Sons Inc. got \$7.35 million. A Pfizer spokesman said that his company has not been asked to resume business in Iran, but he pointed out that pharmaceutical products are readily available to Iran from suppliers in Eastern Europe.

A \$1-billion fund in a Netherlands bank was set up initially by Iran to cover outstanding claims. That amount could easily be wiped out by the pending claims, but the fund is being replenished by interest accumulating on the account. The Iranians are required to make additional funds available if the balance falls below \$500 million, or face seizure of Iranian assets by companies trying to collect outstanding awards, according to attorneys involved in the claims process.

Amoco's Claim Is Largest

Bank claims are being handled through a different process and paid out of two other funds.

The largest outstanding claim, filed by Standard Oil Co. of Indiana (Amoco), is for \$1.4 billion, more than there is to the escrow fund. The claim is for property seized by Iran, Amoco's 50-percent share of a petrochemical company operated with Iran's national petrochemical company and 50 percent of the production in four oil fields discovered by Amoco and operated jointly with the Iranian National Oil Co.

Amoco's claim asserts that the assets were "effectively expropriated" on Aug. 1, 1979. Amoco personnel left at the end of 1978, when the revolutionary ferment that brought down the shah was at its height, and the Iranians refused to let them come back when production resumed in about April 1979, according to Amoco.

In August 1980, Amoco was informed that its contracts had been "nullified" by a special Iranian government committee, according to Bruce Clagett, an attorney representing Amoco.

Another major claim, for \$118 million, was filed by E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. Du Pont alleged "breaches of contract, expropriation of Du Pont's equity interest in, and mismanagement of" a joint-venture synthetic fiber plant.

For the most part, attorneys involved in cases before the tribunal say the system is functioning smoothly, although attorneys for American claimants say that Iran often attempts to delay the proceedings and substitutes revolutionary rhetoric for legal argument.

A Massive Undertaking

"My own perception as a lawyer involved in the process is it's working rather well. It's a massive undertaking," said Thomas Shack, an attorney who represents Iran in the United States. The process is complicated by differences of language and culture, he said.

Briefs, for example, are filed both in English and in Persian, which is read from right to left, so that page and line references are not even the same in both texts.

The orderly playing out of the settlement process and the apparent new pragmatic approach

by the Iranians do not mean that American corporations are eager to enter into new business relationships with Iran, even cash sales. Some have refused outright to respond to Iranian requests to supply oil field equipment, medical instruments and aircraft parts, possibly out of fear of antagonizing Arab customers who do not want to see an Iranian victory in its long war with Iraq.

George Barrington, vice president for international marketing at the Beech Aircraft division of Raytheon, said that Beech has had "some inquiries" about supplying spare parts for military trainers but "we just don't respond. The account is open but we don't service it. We're not interested."

But the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has kept intact the U.S.-Iran Business Council organization that it set up in the heyday of Iran-U.S. trade. "It isn't doing anything, but every time

we proposed getting rid of it, our members said no, keep it going. They're looking ahead," a chamber official said.

A Few Carpets

At the height of U.S.-Iranian friendship, in 1976, Henry A. Kissinger, who was then secretary of state, signed an agreement with the shah's government that set trade volume between the two countries at a projected \$40 billion over five years, not counting military sales. Despite the latest contacts, it will be clearly many years, if ever, before figures like that are approached again.

Current U.S. imports from Iran are negligible — a few carpets and little else. The true volume of U.S. exports is not known, partly because many are handled through European agents and partly because there are no special restrictions on trade with Iran, and many transactions re-

quire no export license. Boeing, for example, says it is making no direct sales of parts to Iran's national airline, but the airline is obtaining parts from other sources.

In the three months from Nov. 1 to Jan. 31, the Commerce Department approved 13 requests by U.S. exporters for licenses to ship restricted goods to Iran, either directly or by re-export from Europe.

The total listed value was \$2.2 million. The largest transaction was for \$1 million worth of computer equipment to be re-exported from France. The smallest was for \$33 worth of quartz crystals.

The Commerce Department rejected two applications by unnamed U.S. companies for permission to ship \$38 million worth of military vehicles to Iran, on the ground that it would contribute to instability in the Middle East.

For Superpowers, Gulf Region Drops in Priority

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — After more than two and a half years of floundering between Iran and Iraq, the most important thing about the war is what has not happened.

Only a few years ago, the Gulf was widely viewed as the world's most explosive region, where a strategically placed superpower could block a major part of global oil exports and perhaps lead to a Soviet-U.S. showdown.

President Jimmy Carter gave his name to a doctrine that said the United States would defend its interests in the Gulf, by force if necessary. The Russians replied with warnings that they would match American military intervention, and cited 1921 treaty with Iran.

But faced with a genuine crisis — the war — the two superpowers have been reduced to policies falling somewhere between benign neglect and impotence.

The war has not significantly disrupted world oil trade. It has not dragged the Russians or Americans into significantly deeper involvement in the region. It has not overtly destabilized the neighboring, fragile states in the Gulf by spreading the brand of Islamic fundamentalism championed by Iran's ayatollahs.

Saddam Hussein's Gamble

Initiated as an overconfident gamble by President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, who had been assured by exiled Iranian generals and politicians that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's government and its army would quickly crumble, the war has become a contest between two highly individualized regimes that apparently will not stop fighting until one leader or the other leaves the scene.

Normal military, economic and diplomatic pressures that might bring an end to such a war are dissipated by the fanatic zeal that each leader has been able to impose on his nation. The mutual determination to outlast the other has helped reduce the ability of any outside power to work to end the fighting.

But it is also clear that the Kremlin and the White House have separately, and perhaps in parallel, reduced the priority they had assigned to the Gulf three years ago. The visions of world-shaking turmoil created by the fall of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran, the subsequent outburst of Islamic revolutionary fervor and the Soviet presence in Afghanistan have palpably subsided.

Of course, one other thing has not happened — the war has not ended. The dangers of the conflict spilling over have not disappeared. Iran continues to press its offensive inside Iraq, and an Iranian breakthrough would probably create great concern among conservative U.S. allies like Saudi Arabia and Jordan. That, in turn, could bring more American involvement and an unpredictable Soviet response.

Search for Implications

A search for some of the principal implications of the Gulf war for superpower rivalry was started last month at Ditchley Park in England at a conference of experts who work both on the Middle East and on Soviet-American relations.

The experts reached no sweeping conclusions, but discussion did suggest some lessons. In limited ways, superpower interests have been affected by the war, particularly through a net loss of Soviet influence in the short term in both Iran and Iraq. Both have rejected clumsy Soviet efforts to keep a foot in each camp.

But the verbal thunderbolts that Mr. Carter and Leonid I. Brezhnev hurled at each other over the Gulf three years ago have stopped echoing. The superpowers are now concentrating their efforts in a battle for public opinion and military advantage in Europe. The Kremlin, in particular, appears to have shifted its priority and to be wary of expending too much energy and attention on other areas when the stakes in the battle over missile deployment in Europe are so large.

For the United States, the oil glut has enabled the Reagan administration to stand by relatively calmly as the two Gulf nations ravage each other. Strategic concerns have returned, at

least temporarily, to the pre-1973 norm; the chief U.S. interest is that oil keep flowing to its NATO allies and Japan, rather than directly to the American economy.

Until recently, a tacit "balance of terror" seems to have been operating along the Gulf to permit a certain level of shipping to continue. While Iraq has attacked some Iranian oil facilities, it has not conducted the kind of intensive interdiction effort that qualified experts feel it could undertake, and tankers carrying Iranian oil continue to move through the Gulf.

Oil Fuels War Machine

And after an air raid into Kuwait that seemed intended to establish a point about mutual vulnerability, Iran has not struck at the Kuwaiti and Saudi oil fields that produce the tens of billions of dollars that have underwritten the Iraqi war effort.

Like the threat to international oil supplies, the threat of rapidly spreading Khomeinism has also declined as the war has worn on.

The chaos, intolerance and repression that have accompanied the founding of the Islamic Republic in Iran have significantly lessened the appeal that the Iranian brand of Moslem fundamentalism might have had for Arab Moslems across the Middle East. Arab participants at the Ditchley conference repeatedly challenged what they saw as an overemphasis by their Western colleagues on the prospects for the war spreading Islamic fundamentalism throughout the region.

If the war created theoretical opportunities for the Russians they have been unable to exploit them. An initial Soviet tilt in favor of Iran, evidenced by arms shipments to Tehran through Soviet client-states, apparently did not win over the fiercely anti-communist mullahs, who were deeply upset by the occupation of Afghanistan.

In recent months, after attempting to keep footholds in both camps, the Russians have resumed arms supplies to Iraq and diminished their involvement in Iran. Ayatollah Kho-

meini's government quickly responded with a crackdown on the communist Tudeh Party inside Iran and resumed bitter polemics against Moscow.

In one view that has currency inside the Soviet leadership, the war has been costly politically for the Russians, with both Iran and Iraq moving steadily to the right to domestic politics during the war.

There are growing signs that Soviet disappointment with Tehran has led Moscow to turn its attention to pushing for renewed influence in Baghdad and a Syrian-Iraq rapprochement that would give the Russians a way back into the Middle East. Success to that area would signal a decisive shift in favor of Iraq in the war.

Weapons From Superpowers

If the superpowers have exercised relative restraint during the war, there is little question that their willingness to pour huge amounts of sophisticated weaponry into both countries in the 1970s provided the stockpile that has kept the battle going for so long.

And a tier of intermediate arms suppliers operating through the black market and existing procurement networks outside of direct superpower control has emerged, which may set patterns for future regional wars. Emergency French shipments of arms saved Iraq from defeat last fall in the most intensive Iranian push. North Korea and Czechoslovakia have profited handsomely from their sales, and Iran was able to call on the military procurement network that had existed between the shah and Israel to get small amounts of war equipment at crucial moments.

Both Washington and Moscow rationalized their willingness to sell the most advanced conventional weapons to their inventories to Tehran and Baghdad on the ground that the sales would enable them to maintain influence in that potentially explosive region. Now that the explosion has come, the influence has vanished.

In China, 'Getting Rich Is Glorious': Farmers Prosper Under New Policies

By Christopher S. Wren

CANTON, China — Liu Si is rich. He earned 17,500 yuan, more than \$8,800, last year and expects to do even better this year.

Mr. Liu, 51, lives on Dali Commune at the northern fringe of the Pearl River delta in Guangdong province. He made his money, which is equivalent to a six-figure income in the United States, by raising 7,500 plump ducks for export to the dining tables of Hong Kong.

Last year, he built another two-story house and gave one of his daughters a generous wedding dowry. He bought three more bicycles and a hand tractor to replace the water buffalo that ploughed his rice paddies. He did not get a television set, Mr. Liu told a visitor, "because I can't afford the time to watch it." He added, "I have to work until midnight every night."

Nanhai county gave Mr. Liu a colorful certificate proclaiming, "Get rich through hard work — getting rich is glorious." He said his neighbors, 10 of whom now raise ducks too, did not mind. "No one was jealous of me because everyone can do it," he said. "The policy allows it."

Mr. Liu is a conspicuous success story of the new agricultural policies set in motion by the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, a little more than four years ago. They have caught on fastest in fertile farmland such as the Pearl River delta, a lush alluvial plain laced with rivers and canals south of Canton. But the pragmatic notion of letting farmers who work harder earn more has wrought an economic and social transformation around the countryside, with the attendant problems of success.

The per-capita cash income for Chinese farmers has risen to \$100 a year, nearly three times their total income in 1978, before the new policies were introduced. One in three farmers then earned less than \$50 a year. Fewer than one in 20 now subsists below this level of poverty.

Mr. Deng's policies raised crop yields and living standards dramatically by doing little more than unfettering the industriousness of the Chinese farmer. The annual growth in value of China's agricultural output has jumped from an average growth of 3.5 percent before the new policies to 7 percent last year. The 1982 record grain harvest exceeded 344 million tons.

The Old Ways Under Mao

The ultimate impact of the dynamic force unleashed by Mr. Deng has yet to be felt, but the enthusiasm among 800 million farmers may be his best insurance against a comeback by the leftist disciples of Mao.

"Nobody would allow themselves to be returned to the former policies," mused Huang Baoyang, the deputy director of the Lelin Commune to the Pearl River delta. "That won't happen here."

Under Mao, farmers were rewarded with work points, and outside activities were usually prohibited. Families like Mr. Liu's that raised more than four ducks or chickens at Dali Commune during the Cultural Revolution were denounced as "capitalist roaders."

The slogan was to "take grain as the key link" and give up more suitable local crops.

"Our peasants used to joke, 'take a stick as the key link,' because it meant nothing," recalled Chai Yanlin, the deputy director of Dali Commune's management committee. Yet production sagged so badly that a report in 1977 revealed that 100 million farmers lacked enough grain.

Agricultural policy began to change after a crucial Communist Party plenary session that

signaled Mr. Deng's rise in December 1978. The government raised its low prices for produce and agreed to pay 50 percent more for what the farmers delivered above their quotas. Village markets, once banned, were revived and livestock raising and other sidelines were encouraged.

Those measures became the harbingers of two major changes that are transforming the face of Chinese agriculture. The first was the seven zhi, or responsibility system, in which farmers sign a contract to deliver part of their crop to the state; they can keep whatever they grow above the quota.

That applied initially to production teams but has spread down to individual families who have reverted to tenant farming, with the state as landlord. More than 90 percent of China's production brigades have scrapped collective labor for the new system.

Some farmers now concentrate on what they can do best. Ten percent of China's 176 million

The pragmatic notion of letting farmers who work harder earn more has wrought an economic and social transformation around the countryside, with the attendant problems of success.

rural households devote all or most of their time, like Liu Si, to specialized farming. In Zhejiang province and elsewhere, some farmers have started to contract out complicated tasks, such as irrigation and seed propagation, to local service companies and simpler chores, such as tractor maintenance, to other farmers.

The other change is the dismantling of the people's communes, which Mao created 25 years ago. A provision of the new constitution adopted in December strips the 55,000 communes of administrative authority and leaves only their economic functions. Political power reverts to the xiang, or traditional rural township, which was abolished as an entity after the farmers were collectivized.

The Ministry of Civil Affairs reported early this year that the townships had been revived selectively in 14 provinces and the Beijing municipality. In three counties of Sichuan province, the production brigades have also reverted to villages.

The gutting of Mao's proudest achievement has yet to be carried out nationwide, and there is confusion at the grass roots about how and when it will be done. "Here it hasn't happened yet," said Mr. Chai at the Dali Commune. "Maybe we'll change to a township, but I don't know."

The commune appears likely to wither away, if only because the leadership to Beijing thinks it didn't work. "Aside from leftist politics," explained China Youth newspaper, "the system of combining the work of governments and communes under one organ was responsible for irresponsible leadership, egalitarianism and indiscriminate requisition of labor, materials and funds, which obstructed economic development during the last 20 years."

Farmers will now be permitted to buy their own shares to the local supply and marketing cooperatives that handle their crops and provide manufactured goods. The policy, which has been tested in more than 600 counties, will eventually extend to all 35,000 rural cooperatives across China, the Xinhua news agency reported.

The new policies have galvanized other activity in the countryside, including the sideline enterprises that produce basic goods from bricks and bottles to cheap clothing. Such factories now employ 30 million farmers, one-tenth of the rural work force, and contribute nearly 40 percent of the total value of farm output.

Persuasion From Beijing

Beijing has had some difficulty persuading farmers who were treated harshly during the Cultural Revolution to take advantage of the new freedoms.

"At the beginning of this new policy, they didn't trust it totally, because they feared they would suffer through the whole experience again," Mr. Huang said. "They thought they would be branded as capitalist roaders. But since 1980, the new policy has brought prosperity, and fewer people now distrust it."

Yet there are critics of the agricultural policies, including ideological leftists who view the return to individual enterprise as a betrayal of Marxism and local party and government functionaries who object to seeing their authority undercut.

The extent of resistance is not evident, but the press periodically reports cases of foot-dragging or outright opposition to change. In Hunan province, officials confiscated trucks and tractors that some farmers had bought to carry produce to market, arguing that this sideline was capitalist.

The Ministry of Public Security in Beijing put out a nationwide bulletin this month ordering police to protect prosperous farmers from blackmail, extortion and outright robbery. The bulletin was issued after Lu Chumin, a farmer in Hubei province, complained that commune officials and neighbors were helping themselves to his hard-earned fertilizer, building material and even four pigs.

A young farmer named Wang Qianjing in Anhui province was detained 26 days for loitering because his legitimate sideline activities looked too profitable. Another farmer in Hubei province, Zhang Xiaohua, was publicly censured for having earned nearly \$1,200 from gathering medicinal herbs and other work. They were cleared after higher authorities intervened.

"Whenever events like this occur, the implementation of the party's policies toward rural areas will be obstructed, ideological confusion will result among peasants and their initiative in production will be hurt," the People's Daily warned last spring.

The Caution Remains

Despite official assurances that it is proper to make money, some farmers remain cautious. The People's Daily mentioned cases of farmers underreporting their crop yields for fear that officials would raise the quota taken by the state.

Deng Fenglou, a farmer to Liaoning province, told a newspaper that "when asked how many sheep I have, I never tell the truth, not wanting to be the tall tree that catches all the wind."

Some officials insist they have no complaints. "I find it much easier," said Liang En, a pro-



A farmer sells fresh vegetables in Canton. The private sale of some crops is allowed under liberalized regulations.

duction team leader at the Dali Commune. "Before, peasants didn't take care of equipment and facilities because it was publicly owned. They didn't have the sense of responsibility and it caused a lot of waste and damage. Now I don't have to shout at them to get out and work."

The government must decide what to do with commune officials who are made superfluous by the changes. The smarter ones can stake out a supervisory role in new production cooperatives. But a report by a study group of the Chinese Agricultural Commission found that others were too uneducated or incompetent to adjust to new duties. Some functionaries are being transferred to local birth control and welfare programs while others are left with fewer responsibilities.

Rural prosperity has brought other problems. The barter economy that existed only a few years ago has given way to a bustling commerce at 44,000 farmer markets across China. A recent survey disclosed that 60 percent of the nation's currency was now circulating in the countryside.

Stores have been unable to meet the greater demand for products, ranging from bicycles to bedspreads and kerosene. The farmers have also become fussier about quality in their purchases. One indicator of the new consumerism: 90 percent of the nine million television sets in rural China have been purchased since the new agricultural policy went into effect.

The shift to individual machinery has been so pronounced that a major tractor factory in Anhui's provincial capital, Hefei, had to close down because its tractors were too large. More than 50,000 hand tractors are now privately owned, but so are several hundred trucks.

Not Just Farming Needs

But the farmers also want better services. Three farmers in Guangdong province, in a letter to a biweekly agricultural newspaper earlier this year, listed needs that included not only more lightweight farm machinery and seeds but also better postal service and television repairmen.

The responsibility system has undermined

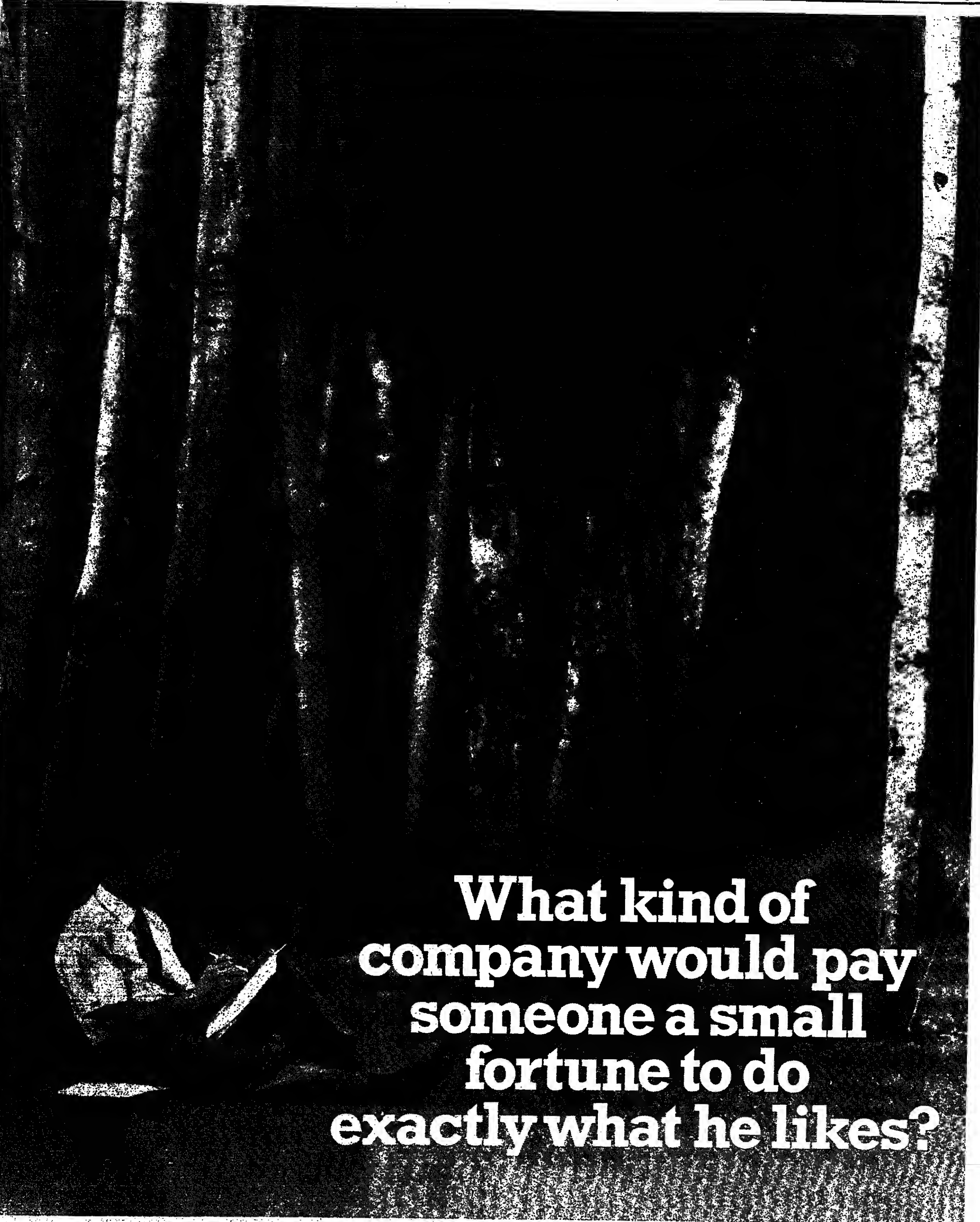
China's stringent birth control policies, which officially permit only one child per family. Increasingly, farmers may have another child if the first is a girl, on the theory that they need a son.

"It's only natural for peasants to have more children to help them with the work," conceded an official in Nanhai county. "We advocate one child and allow two children according to certain conditions, but we never allow a third child."

The Chinese armed forces has found it harder to lure rural volunteers because young men can earn more staying home. The People's Daily has proposed special treatment for farm families with soldiers on active duty.

Some farmers have kept their children out of school to tend poultry and other livestock.

"When peasants are given ways to make money, they discontinue their children's education and employ them in family sideline production," complained a letter in China Daily. Its writers urged that both the party and parents take the problem seriously and put the truant back in school.



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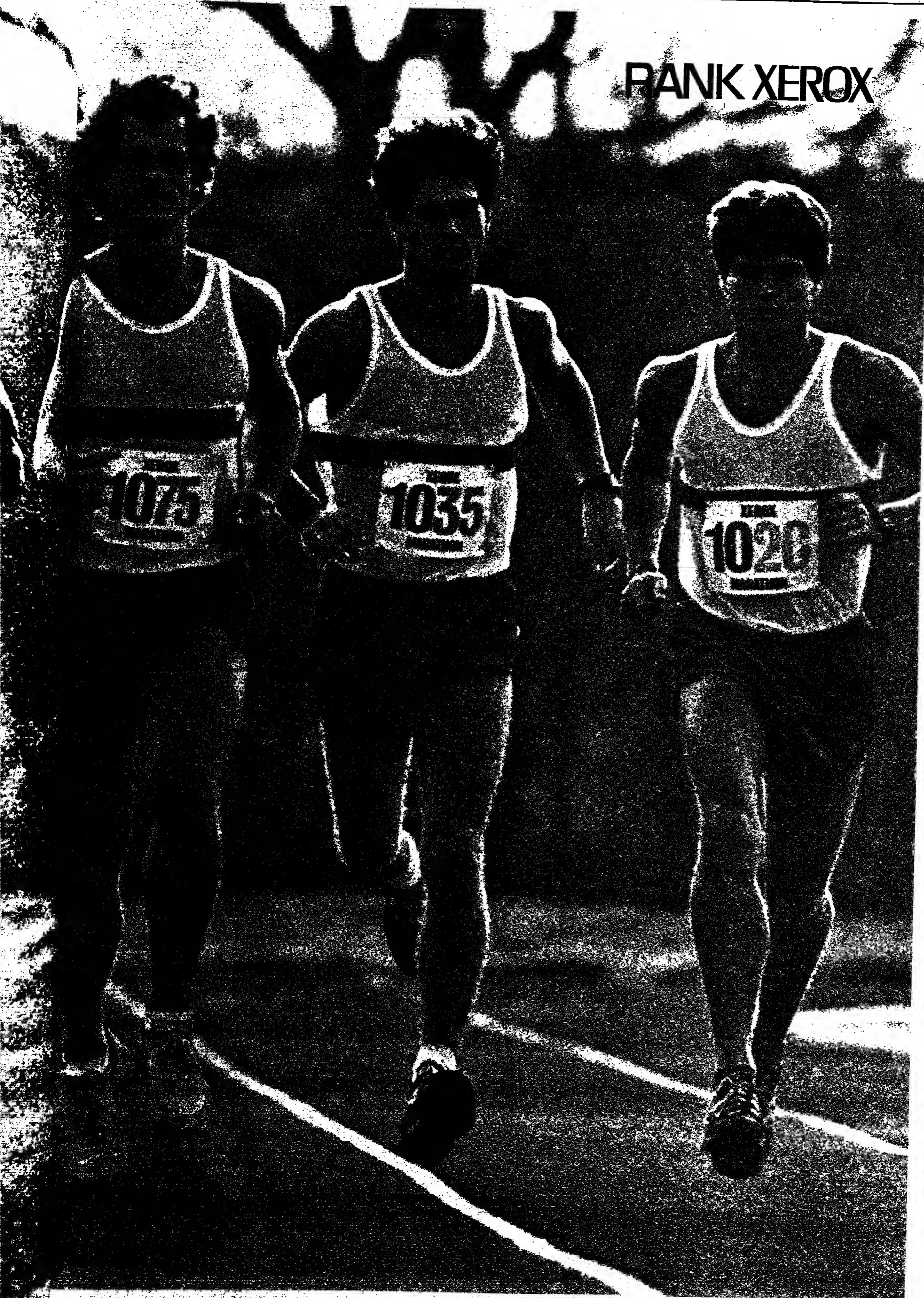
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9 thorny questions treasurers are asking Morgan about long-term financing alternatives



Morgan banking officers and Morgan Guaranty Ltd managers meet in London. From left, Jean-Francois Buisseret and Michael Enthoven, MGL; Andrew Cartwright, Banking, London; Claus Löwe, MGL; Gonzalo de las Heras, general manager, Madrid; William Holding, head, European Corporate Banking, New York.

1. Are there economic benefits in denominating an inter-company loan in a third-country currency?
2. Is there a cost-effective way to prepay a foreign currency liability?
3. Does it make sense to be a lessee if we pay taxes?
4. At what point does project financing favorably affect the risk/reward ratio of an investment opportunity?
5. How can we efficiently reduce the cost of our outstanding public debt?
6. Can we arrange long-term fixed-rate financing in a foreign currency if the capital market for the currency isn't accessible on reasonable terms?
7. How can we most efficiently use interest rate swaps to change floating-rate debt to a fixed-rate obligation? Or fixed to floating?
8. How can we improve the return on our investment portfolio within our liquidity, credit quality, and foreign exchange exposure constraints?
9. When does a private placement provide terms which are competitive with the public market?

Corporate treasurers find that Morgan has the answers to long-term financing questions like these. They know

Morgan bankers add value to a relationship by exploring all the alternative solutions to complex financing problems—both traditional structures and new ones responsive to today's volatile markets.

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Our answer to Question 3, for example, may be a cross-border lease which dramatically reduces the effective cost of financing the asset while permitting you to retain the economic risks and rewards of ownership. Morgan can act as both agent and advisor. In the last year alone we arranged a billion dollars of such leases.

Or take Question 5. For many companies forward bond repurchase programs can lock-in existing discounts on the bond prices or currency exchange rates—or allow them to capitalize on a positively-sloped yield curve—without incremental outlays of funds.

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backstop facility if necessary, acting as principal in the swap, and managing the related bond issue in the international market. And you'll find that our approach can not only reduce the costs and risks of such a transaction but also simplify its implementation.

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Ask us your tough questions

What financing questions are most challenging to your company? Ask them of your Morgan banker in any of our European offices. Or write or call Fabian K. vom Hofe, Vice Chairman, Morgan Guaranty Ltd, 30 Throgmorton Street, London EC2N 2NT. Telephone (01) 600-7545. Member FIC.

The Morgan Bank

THURSDAY, APRIL 14, 1983

WALL STREET WATCH

By EDWARD ROHRBACH

Continued Computer Explosion Presents Booming Opportunity

Computer performance will increase a "thousand-fold" this decade, according to William J. Perry, managing director research at Hambrecht & Quist, San Francisco investment bankers.

Mr. Perry, keynote speaker at this week's American Electronics Association conference in Monte Carlo, said most of this "second computer revolution" will come about as speed and capability accelerate while costs continue to plummet.

"Today's \$10,000 computer will cost \$100 in 10 years," he said. "There also should be a tenfold improvement over the decade in software, to more efficiently use computers' burgeoning computational power."

But Mr. Perry added, "Forecasting these numbers is the easy part, the social consequences of this explosion is what's hard to predict."

But for sure, he said, increasingly powerful and complex computers will play a bigger and bigger role in everyday life. In the home, they will become cheap and as common as television sets, he said, which at \$500 each translates into a \$25 billion market.

"But high fidelity might be a better analogy," he explained, "because software for computers is what records and tape cassettes are to a stereo — a secondary market that becomes just as important."

Another speaker, William R. Beckman, telecommunications analyst for Kidder Peabody, said that rapid technological change will have a heavy impact on the field, but not nearly as much as the fundamental change caused by government deregulation of the communications industry.

Breakup of AT&T's regulated monopoly has created "the emergence of many companies which represent significant investment opportunities" in telecommunications, he said.

Noting that the long-distance transmission sector has mushroomed into a \$1.5 billion business from scratch in the mid-1970s, he said MCI Communications' big lead over the pack is expected to continue. Cable television equipment suppliers, he said, appear to have stumbled after fast growth and now "must be in a good niche" to continue to advance.

The \$1 billion data communications segment of telecommunications is enjoying 25 to 30 percent expansion, he said, and picked Paradyne as the "key" company. M/A-COM, Harris and California Microwave are the "players" in business communications, he commented.

Rohm and Mitel lead the competitive subscriber equipment segment, he said, while there are both "big opportunities and risks." Northern Telecom is best positioned to win new business in the huge telephone switching equipment business, he judged, with Avaya Corp. and Avnet as the best bets in the fast-growing phone transmission field.

"As stocks, Kidder Peabody is cautious about buying telecommunications issues until there's visibility of better earnings," Mr. Beckman said. "Hopefully, orders will pick up this summer."

An Immediate Bonanza

Viewing deregulation as more of an immediate bonanza to investors in telecommunications stocks is Jon Gruber, partner in charge of the technology group at Montgomery Securities in San Francisco.

Calling it the most exciting investment area, his recommendations are Northern Telecom, Timex, Rolm, MCI and M/A-COM.

Defense electronics is Mr. Gruber's second favorite high-technology group, with Lockheed, Watkins-Johnson, Sanders Associates and Argonne Systems the top picks. Third he places manufacturers of storage devices for personal and small business computers. Named were Seagate Technology, Tandon and National Microelectronics. Among recommendations in microcomputers, the next highest group, he likes Apple Computer, Corvus Systems, Convergent Technology and Fortune Systems.

Webcor Electronics, Dynamac and Comdial are top choices in the residential phone field. As for laser, he picks Coherent and Spectra-Physics. Semiconductor stocks have gone "from being attractive to the economy picks up," he said. He likes Motorola, Micrometrics and Texas Instruments.

Abraham Orbach, Paris-based senior high-technology analyst for A.G. Becker, sees the group poised for another stock-market advance, including those companies hit by the recession whose shares have lagged in the bull market.

High-tech companies that have sailed along without earnings interruptions and whose stock has soared are not fully priced, he asserted. "The faster pace of technological change will enable them to carry even higher P/E ratios."

In this category he recommends Cullinet, a software company sporting a 50 percent growth rate, and Tandon, maker of small disc drives, which "still represents an excellent buying opportunity." Other favorites are Verbatim, an "established winner among disc manufacturers," and Xerox, a "newcomer to the field" with the "top track record" in microfilm.

In the laggard group, Mr. Orbach said that two suppliers of magnetic heads, National Microelectronics and Applied Magnetics, are "on the verge of earnings breakouts." He also likes Tandon, the maker of full-size computers, whose previous high growth has slipped lately, and Teradyne, which he said now enjoys the fastest growing backlog in the semiconductor test area.

International Herald Tribune

CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for April 13, excluding bank service charges.

Location	Rate	Location	Rate	Location	Rate	Location	Rate
Amsterdam	2.345	London	1.000	Paris	6.543	Frankfurt	3.360
Berlin	3.360	Geneva	2.000	Madrid	166.667	Rome	366.667
Stockholm	4.667	Switzerland	1.750	Oslo	4.762	Copenhagen	4.667
Helsinki	5.946	Reykjavik	136.364	Lisbon	200.484	Brussels	36.364
Athens	340.741	Belgrade	136.364	Sofia	166.667	Bucharest	166.667
Warsaw	136.364	Zagreb	136.364	Belgrade	136.364	Sofia	166.667
Bucharest	166.667	Brussels	36.364	Athens	340.741	Belgrade	136.364
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BUSINESS BRIEFS

Belgium's Central Bank Lowers Its Discount Rate by 1% to 10%

BRUSSELS (Combined Dispatches) — The National Bank lowered Belgium's key lending rate by 1 point to 10 percent Wednesday. The bank said the decision would facilitate the reduction of short-term credit rates in Belgium and was made possible by the easing of conditions on the money market.

A drop in the discount rate had been expected in financial circles but many foreign exchange dealers anticipated a ½ point drop. "This confirms the aggressive policy the bank has adopted" in pushing interest rates down, one banking source said.

On March 23, the National Bank lowered the discount rate a record 3 points to 11 percent. The move was viewed as a gamble at the time, but dealers now agree it paid off.

The Belgian franc, which was upvalued in the European Monetary System one day before the 3-point reduction in the key lending rate, has remained firm since then.

Baldwin-United Gets Debt Delay

NEW YORK (NYT) — Baldwin-United has signed a 93-day standstill agreement with its creditor banks, according to the company and bankers.

Under the agreement reached Monday, which expires July 15, the company said it would make monthly interest payments on about \$900 million in short-term debt owed to two groups of banks. According to a banking source, Baldwin will pay 11 percent interest on this debt. That would be nearly \$25 million for the three-month period on a \$900 million debt, although neither the company nor its bankers would specify the amount.

Baldwin, a financial services company with a number of insurance subsidiaries, has been trying since mid-March to get an extension of 90 days or more on payment of this debt, most of it due by early summer. Since mid-March, the company's creditors have granted two extensions, the first for two weeks, the second for one week. The latest extension had expired on April 4.

Belzberg Firm in Bid for Bekins

LOS ANGELES (LAT) — The wealthy Belzberg family of Vancouver, Canada, apparently encouraged by Bekins Co. Chairman Stanley Hiller Jr. and in alliance with one other Bekins director, Tuesday made a surprise \$77.2 million bid to take over Bekins.

Bekins is considered America's largest local mover and storage company and the fifth-largest interstate mover. The Belzbergs' offer of \$20 a share came through Far West Financial Corp., a savings-and-loan holding company they control.

If it is successful, up to 10 percent of the new company would be owned by BEK Corp., an investment company formed by Bekins director Donald M. Bekins that tried an unsuccessful takeover a year ago. The latest offer is conditioned on tender of at least 49 percent of Bekins's 3.86 million shares. The offer is to begin by Monday.

Sony Expects Weaker 6 Months

TOKYO (Reuters) — Sony said Wednesday that parent company sales in the half-year to April 30 are expected to be below the 446 billion yen (\$1.9 billion) of same period a year earlier because of cuts in export sales to help reduce large stockpiles overseas.

Recurrent and after-tax profits will be substantially affected by the reduced sales figures, a Sony spokesman said, but declined to give details.

Nixdorf Sees Continued Growth

FRANKFURT (Reuters) — Nixdorf Computer of West Germany expects growth of both sales and profit to continue this year, senior company officials said Wednesday.

Plants have been working overtime to meet demand and new orders in the first quarter were up 30 percent, they said. Net profit rose 77 percent to 72.8 million Deutsche marks (\$30.3 million) in 1982 and turnover was up 18 percent at 2.29 billion DM.

Deputy Chairman Klaus Luft said sales will again increase by more than 10 percent this year, with profit at least keeping pace, although prices for computers and related equipment will probably remain relatively constant.

Carrian Plans Debt Reduction

HONG KONG (Reuters) — The Carrian group expects to reduce its total liabilities to 650 million Hong Kong dollars (\$97 million) from the current 6.3 billion by a package including new share issues and the disposal of assets, company sources said Wednesday.

The group said in a statement it has proposed to creditors of Carrian Investments that they should convert part of their debt into equity. The total indebtedness of Carrian Investments is estimated at about 2.3 billion dollars, the sources said.

The sources said the Carrian group is expected to derive a total of 1.1 billion dollars from sales of its stakes in China Underwriters Life, General Insurance Co., Union Bank of Hong Kong and properties in Singapore. It said another 1 billion dollars is expected from sales of ships by Grand Marine Holdings.

Exxon Holds Lead in Fortune List

NEW YORK (UPI) — Exxon, the largest oil company, again grabbed the top spot on the Fortune 500 list of the largest U.S. industrial corporations, while General Motors regained the No. 2 post by bumping Mobil to No. 3, the magazine's new rankings showed Wednesday.

IBM, although ranked sixth on the 1983 Fortune 500 list which uses sales as the ranking criteria, overtook Exxon as the nation's top profit-maker. The computer manufacturer earned \$4.4 billion last year.

But the recession took a heavy toll on the performance of the majority of Fortune 500 companies last year and shook up many of the top 10 standings. The list became devoid of any company with more than \$100 billion in revenues as Exxon's revenues dipped to below the \$100 billion mark — to \$97.2 billion — for the first time since 1979.

U.S. Prime Rate of 7% Predicted

BRUSSELS (AP) — The U.S. prime lending rate will drop to about 9 percent this year and to 7 percent in late 1984, John Torell, president of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., predicted Wednesday.

He also said economic growth in the United States probably will reach at least 3 percent this year but that unemployment will remain in double digits.

Audi to Start Selling New Auto in Japan

United Press International

TOKYO — Audi of West Germany said Wednesday that it will market a new passenger car in Japan on Saturday in partnership with a Japanese distributor.

The company said the front-wheel drive Audi 100, which was introduced in Europe in September, will sell for 4.97 million yen (\$20,950) in Tokyo.

Net Asset Value on April 7, 1983

Pacific Selection Fund N.Y. U.S. \$3.37 per U.S. \$1 unit.

Pacific Selection Fund N.Y.

Gold Options (prices in \$/oz.)

Month	May	Aug.	Nov.
100	11.50-11.59	22.00-22.00	22.00-22.00
200	7.50-7.59	15.00-15.00	15.00-15.00
300	5.00-5.09	10.00-10.00	10.00-10.00
400	3.00-3.09	6.00-6.00	6.00-6.00
500	1.00-1.09	2.00-2.00	2.00-2.00

Gold 480.00-480.00
Valuers White Weld S.A.
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1211 Geneva 1, Switzerland
Tel. 31 92 51 - Telex 28 705

OECD Expects France To Halve Trade Gap

Reuters

PARIS — The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development predicted Wednesday that the French economy would grow 0.5 percent this year and the trade deficit would be halved.

Economists called the figure was too optimistic. They observed that the forecast was drawn up before the government announced a package of austerity measures last month designed to cut France's trade deficit and ease inflation.

Most economists said that if the measures, which included steps to dampen consumer spending and boost investment, had been taken into account then the OECD forecast would have been for zero growth.

The OECD declined to comment on how the measures might have affected its predictions for the French economy, but a forecast for zero growth would have been in line with latest government projections.

In its annual report, the OECD implies that France's trade deficit will fall to around \$5.6 billion, close to the government's target, once oil price cuts have been taken into account.

The organization said that the better outlook for world trade should enable France to reduce its deficit by \$2.5 billion from last year's \$12.8 billion, but it added

Britain to Study Bid for Sotheby By U.S. Group

The Associated Press

LONDON — The British government said Wednesday it will review the proposed acquisition of Sotheby's by Parkes-Bernard Group by Knoll International Holdings, whose principal businesses are carpets and contemporary furniture.

The review involving Sotheby's, the British art-auction house, will be handled by the Department of Trade's Office of Fair Trading, the government said.

The office will decide whether to refer the matter to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission for further investigation, the spokesman added. The commission has the power to block mergers.

Knoll International already owns 14 percent of Sotheby's, and on Monday offered to acquire the remaining 86 percent for \$7.94 a share.

Sotheby's immediately rejected the offer, and in a letter to Knoll last week, 133 of Sotheby's experts — who value the items Sotheby's auctions — said they would consider leaving the firm if Knoll obtained control.

Merrill Lynch Increases Size Of Eurobond

Reuters

LONDON — Merrill Lynch & Co.'s recently launched seven-year Eurobond has been increased to \$200 million from \$150 million, lead manager Merrill Lynch International said.

The non-callable issue, which had been expected to be for \$100 million before its issue, carries a 10 1/2 percent coupon and par price.

Société Générale is raising \$200 million through a seven-year floating rate note with warrants for another \$100 million of Eurobonds.

Société Générale is lead managing the issue of notes, which pay interest of 1 1/4 percentage point over the six-month London interbank offered rates.

Each \$10,000 note includes five detachable warrants, each allowing purchase of a 10-year 10 1/2 percent bond at par. The warrants must be used before next Dec. 15, and the bond is callable after seven years at 101 1/4.

France to Drop Video Measures

The Associated Press

PARIS — The French government will soon lift restrictions imposed last October to slow imports of Japanese-made video tape recorders, officials said Wednesday.

The measures have required importers to clear all their shipments through the small inland customs post at Fontenay rather than at the ports of entry. That created huge backlogs and at first reduced the number of machines imported from hundreds of thousands to hundreds, though the pace quickened again this year.

The officials said the decision to lift the restriction follows a meeting Tuesday between the new French trade minister, Edith Cresson, and Japanese Ambassador Hiroshi Uchida.

Saudis Face Budget Gap In Fiscal '84

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

RIYADH — Saudi Arabian King Fahd said Wednesday in a radio-television address the government would have a 35-billion-riyal (\$10.1 billion) budget deficit in fiscal 1984, which begins Thursday, and the Finance Ministry said the shortfall would be financed by withdrawals from the kingdom's reserves.

The king said the country would spend 260 billion riyals and expect revenue was 225 billion riyals.

The new budget represents a cut in spending from the 313 billion riyal government spending in the fiscal year just ending, the ministry said.

The king told the nation that the kingdom's exports of crude and its revenue have gone down because of a drop in international consumption of oil.

The Finance Ministry said the kingdom would continue to finance agricultural, industrial and real estate funds at the same level as in fiscal 1983 and would continue to subsidize food.

Qatar Cuts Spending

Qatar has cut its budget spending for the 12 months beginning Thursday to 3.85 billion Qatari riyals (\$1.06 billion) from 8.36 billion in the previous 18-month budget. Reuters quoted the government as saying Wednesday.

The reduction is 30.9 percent compared with the previous budget adjusted to an annual rate, the government said.

Nissan Plans Part Center

Reuters

AMSTERDAM — Nissan announced Wednesday that it will build a spare parts center here to improve its service to Europe. It said it will invest 90 million guilders (\$33 million) to construct the facility, which is to employ 200 persons.

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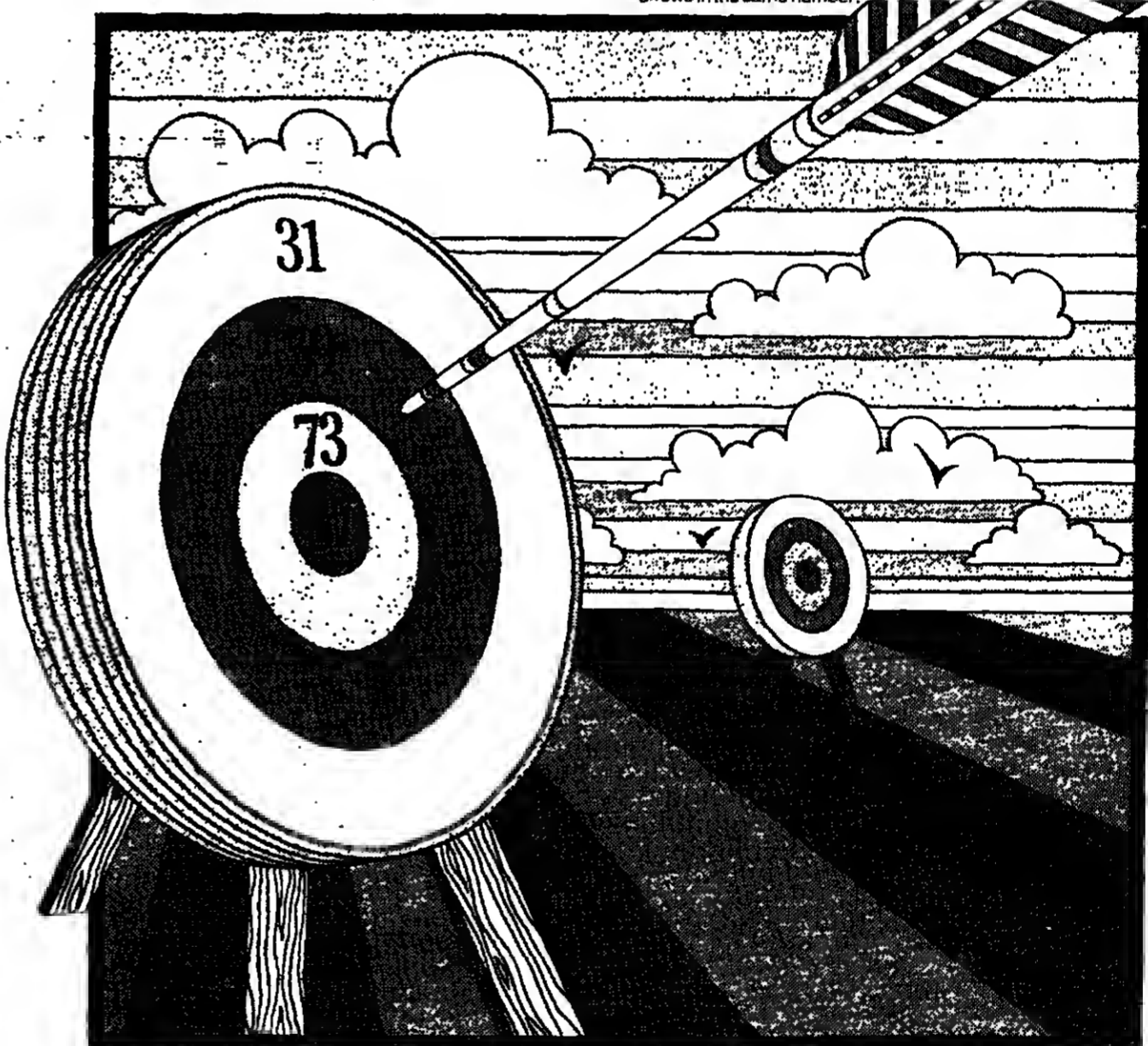
Floating Rate Capital Notes 1994



In accordance with the provisions of the Notes notice is hereby given that for the six months interest period from 14th April, 1983 to 14th October, 1983 the Notes will carry an Interest Rate of 9 1/4% per annum. The interest payable on the relevant interest payment date, 14th October, 1983 against Coupon No. 9 will be U.S.\$49.24.

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BAHRAIN	23.42.41	HELSINKI	84.02.50	NEW YORK	286.08.44
BARCELONA	30.22.82	HONG KONG	29.38.76	OSLO	41.61.15
BERLIN (WEST)	281.80.13	LISBON	88.30.88	PARIS	(60)79.0800
BRUSSELS	218.28.88	LONDON	628.37.51	SINGAPORE	338.0800
COPENHAGEN	04.30.00.04	LUGANO	58.08.29	STOCKHOLM	27.71.27
DUBLIN	72.61.75	LUXEMBOURG	48.45.58	STUTTGART	22.03.13
FRANKFURT	29.28.00	MADRID	402.61.31	VIENNA	54.11.06
GENEVA	28.17.77	MILAN	345.23.68	ZURICH	302.08.12

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Wednesday's NYSE Closing Prices

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

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Japan Restricts Shipyard Output

TOKYO — The Transportation Ministry imposed mandatory production ceilings Wednesday on Japan's 33 biggest shipyards to avoid excessive competition during the world shipbuilding recession.

The ministry limited production at the yards to 74 percent of their combined capacity of 6.6 million tons in the current financial year, which began on April 1, and to 68 percent in 1984.

Officials said the action was taken to prevent excessive domestic competition for orders and to prevent Japanese companies from gaining an even bigger share of the world market. Japanese yards already produce half the world's shipping tonnage.

COMPANY EARNINGS

Revenue and profits, in millions, are in local currencies unless otherwise indicated.

Britain	Morgan (J.P.)
Burmah Oil	Revenue: 1,000
Profit: 100	Profit: 100
Westinghouse Elec.	Revenue: 1,000
Profit: 100	Profit: 100
West Germany	Mitsubishi Computer
Revenue: 1,000	Revenue: 1,000
Profit: 100	Profit: 100

Denmark to Ease Exchange Curbs

COPENHAGEN — Denmark's conservative-led government announced Wednesday that it will ease foreign exchange controls next month in an apparent effort to spur economic activity.

The reforms will substantially raise both the limits on Danish business investments abroad and on money invested in Denmark by foreign business, an Industry Ministry official said.

Economists said the reforms, outlined in an official report, reflected marked improvement in the Danish economy that has been caused in part by the coalition government's anti-inflation program.

A ban on sales of government bonds to non-residents would also be removed, the official said. The ban was imposed in 1979 by the previous Social Democratic administration to stop outflows of high-yielding government paper that the government had issued to cover widening budget deficits.

The new controls will allow Danish companies to invest up to 2 million kroner (\$232,700) abroad per year compared with 500,000 kroner under the present restrictions.

The ceiling on a foreign company's investments in Denmark will rise from 2 million to 5 million kroner yearly, the official added.

The reforms, effective May 1, will also allow nonresidents to invest in Denmark's unlisted securities market and will remove all obstacles to buying property abroad.

In the seven months since the current government changed hands, effective returns on Danish bonds have fallen from about 22 percent to around 15 percent, bureau officials said. Stock prices have risen an average of about 34 percent since the start of 1983, they added.

STOCK MARKET SUMMARY											
LAST DAY OF 1987, 12:00 PM											
12 Month											
High	Low	Stock	Div.	Yld.	P/E	100s	High	Low	Close	Prev.	Change
40%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
41%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
42%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
43%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
44%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
45%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
46%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
47%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
48%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
49%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
50%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
51%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
52%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
53%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
54%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
55%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
56%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
57%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
58%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
59%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
60%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
61%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
62%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
63%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
64%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
65%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
66%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
67%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
68%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
69%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
70%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
71%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
72%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
73%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
74%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
75%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
76%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
77%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
78%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
79%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
80%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
81%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
82%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
83%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
84%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
85%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
86%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
87%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
88%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
89%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
90%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
91%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
92%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
93%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
94%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
95%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
96%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
97%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
98%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
99%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0
100%	15%	Whitbread	1.40	17.25	13.1	100	10	10	10	10	0

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Grains

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April 13					
FRENCH FRANC	166.37	166.37	166.37	166.37	0.00

[illegible]

Invitation for Prequalification

The Provisional Military Government of Socialist Ethiopia intends to secure a loan from the African Development Fund for an education project which is hoped to be implemented over a 3-year period.

Applications are invited on prescribed forms from interested Civil Works contractors and school level equipment suppliers from Member Countries and Participating States of the African Development Fund to prequalify themselves to receive the bid invitations.

Civil Works will cover a total gross area of approximately 23,500 sq.m. (2 Primary Teacher Training Institutes and 4 vocational/Agricultural/Technical schools) valued at about US\$8.8 million. The value of the equipment is expected to be about US\$3 million.

Details of the project and application forms may be obtained from:

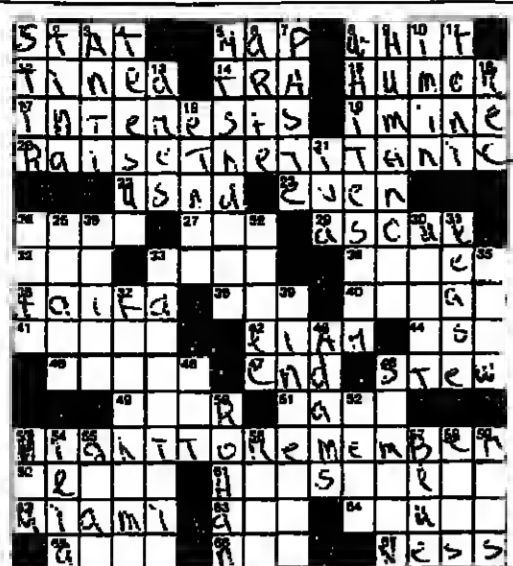
Project Management Office
Ministry of Education
P.O. Box 1567
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Requests for project details and forms may be by letter or telegram giving full return address, sent directly to the above address or through the Diplomatic Mission of the country of the Applicant, resident in Ethiopia.

The last date for receiving completed application forms at the Project Management Office is June 15, 1983.

Ministry of Education
Ethiopia.

CROSSWORD



- ACROSS**
- Photo or hemo
 - For
 - Plat, e.g.
 - Ringworm
 - Round sound
 - Thurber forte
 - Excites one's attention
 - Ammonia derivative
 - Cussler novel: 1978
 - Where a future ens. is trained
 - Flush
 - Nipa palm
 - Third king of Judah
 - Not (no one)
 - Sexual: Comb. form
 - Pig or ingot: Abbr.
 - Fork parts
 - Israeli seaport
 - Trouble
 - Madison Ave. type
 - Famous victim at sea: Apr. 15, 1912
 - Prevaricator
 - Inner: Prefix
 - Boat covers, for short
 - Final
 - Swivel
- DOWN**
- Basin (German coal area)
 - Festive
 - Walter Lord book, with "A"
 - Abdul's
 - Almighty
 - Tonfoley
 - Orange Bowl site
 - Porthos, to Athos
 - Recipe direction
 - On the Atlantic
 - Formerly
 - Loch of fame
 - Ado
 - Actress Louise
 - Pro's opposite
 - Prepares to drive
 - Calif. peak
 - A Johnson
 - 7 Clobber
 - Line (owners of the "unsinkable ship")
 - Common sci-fi character
 - the Mood
 - Morrison
 - Greek Mars
 - Platter for a deejay
 - Spirit lamps
 - Marsh elder
 - Moslem title
 - Exorcise's
 - proposal
 - Bryant or Loo
 - Like a gymnast
 - Not yet considered or solved
 - Let
 - Rescue ship: Apr. 15, 1912
 - Phoebe of songdom
 - Scoler's words
 - Slips, e.g.
 - Smith and West
 - Apr. 16, 1983
 - Small Chinese boat
 - Famed French name
 - feudal family
 - Marvin
 - Asian land, to some vets
 - 54 Bones at the hips
 - Knoll of a Moselle bell
 - Eric Canal
 - Oceanic hue
 - Grub
 - Whiskies

DENNIS THE MENACE



JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

PHARY

BOJAN

STAPOL

KOOCIE

Print answer here: THE

Yesterday's Jumbles: BATHE POUND ELEVEN SYLVAN

Answer: What he said when the psychiatrist asked whether he had trouble making up his mind—YES AND NO

WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	C		HIGH	LOW	C
Algeria	16	14	17	Bangkok	27	21	28
Amsterdam	10	8	12	Beijing	27	21	28
Antwerp	10	8	12	Hong Kong	27	21	28
Berlin	10	8	12	Kobe	27	21	28
Bombay	27	21	28	Manila	27	21	28
Buenos Aires	10	8	12	Osaka	27	21	28
Calcutta	27	21	28	Seoul	27	21	28
Cairo	10	8	12	Singapore	27	21	28
Cardiff	10	8	12	Taipei	27	21	28
Chengdu	27	21	28	Tokyo	27	21	28
Colon	10	8	12				
Copenhagen	10	8	12				
Dakar	10	8	12				
Dallas	10	8	12				
Damascus	10	8	12				
Delhi	27	21	28				
Detroit	10	8	12				
Frankfurt	10	8	12				
Geneva	10	8	12				
Hankow	27	21	28				
Helsinki	10	8	12				
Hong Kong	27	21	28				
Kobe	27	21	28				
London	10	8	12				
Los Angeles	10	8	12				
Madras	27	21	28				
Manila	27	21	28				
Medan	27	21	28				
Moscow	10	8	12				
Mumbai	27	21	28				
Nairobi	10	8	12				
Paris	10	8	12				
Perth	10	8	12				
Port of Spain	10	8	12				
Rangoon	27	21	28				
San Francisco	10	8	12				
Sao Paulo	10	8	12				
Seoul	27	21	28				
Singapore	27	21	28				
Sydney	10	8	12				
Taipei	27	21	28				
Tokyo	27	21	28				
Yokohama	27	21	28				

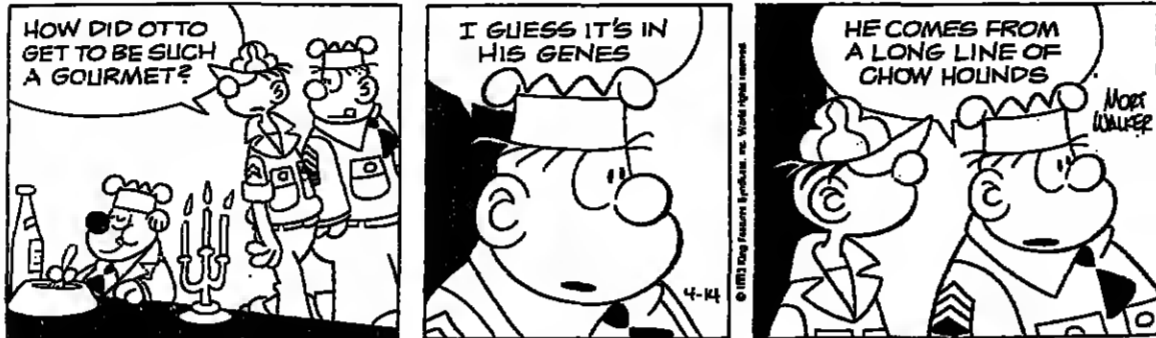
PEANUTS



BLONDIE



BEEBLE BAILEY



ANDY CAPP



WIZARD OF ID



REX MORGAN



GARFIELD



French Oil Company Signs Egyptian Pact

CAIRO — A French oil company, Total Proche Orient, has signed two agreements for exploration in Egypt at a possible cost of \$72 million, a company spokesman said Wednesday.

The first concession is a 200-square-kilometer (80-square-mile) area in North Darag, in the northern part of the Gulf of Suez, and the second one, covering an area of 10,000 square kilometers, is at Ras Banas in the Red Sea, the spokesman said.

French Oil Company Signs Egyptian Pact

Amsterdam				Frankfurt			
	Close	Prev.	Change		Close	Prev.	Change
ABN Holding	102.00	101.50	+0.50	AEG	102.00	101.50	+0.50
Alkermid	102.00	101.50	+0.50	Alkermid	102.00	101.50	+0.50
Alkermid	102.00	101.50	+0.50	Alkermid	102.00	101.50	+0.50
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French Oil Company Signs Egyptian Pact

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BOOKS

FURY ON EARTH

A Biography of Wilhelm Reich
By Myron Sharaf. 550 pp. \$24.95.
St. Martin's Press-Marek,
175 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010.

Reviewed by John Corry

WILHELM Reich is remembered today more for his aberrations than his accomplishments, more for celebrating the sexual orgasm than for explaining it, and more for his famous, or infamous, orgone boxes than for his contributions to psychoanalysis and even social thought. That the great psychoanalyst was a towering pest is undeniable; that he was heaped with undeserved obloquy is undeniable, too. When he died in a federal prison on Nov. 3, 1957, his most important obituary was a one-paragraph misrepresentation of his work in a news magazine.

In "Fury on Earth," Myron Sharaf has written a monumental, sometimes astonishing and often maddening biography of Reich. It is monumental in its scope, an exegesis of everything Reich thought, said or did; astonishing in that the evenhandedness is so, well, evenhanded. The curious thing is that Sharaf, a psychologist, is excusing old ghosts in this. Once, he was a student, patient and colleague of Reich; Reich even had an affair with his wife, the author says. Sharaf, however, has written not out of vengeance but out of mission. He wants the world to look once again at Reich, only this time dispassionately.

In fact, the problem in looking at Reich has always been Reich himself. In the late 1920s, when he fell from grace in the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society, some of its Victorian husbands whispered that he was a psychopath. A few years later, the psychoanalyst Sandor Rado, elevating the diagnosis, said he was a psychotic. Sharaf argues that the notion of Reich's craziness has prejudiced psychiatrists

and scientists against his work. Probably he is right.

Still, there is an anomaly here. Psychopathy or psychosis has colored the lives and thinking of many of the great psychiatrists and psychoanalysts. Whatever the layered, complex and even poetic reasons for this, it has never much stopped the promulgation of their work. Sometimes, one suspects, it has positively enhanced it.

Consider, for example, Jung, alone in his stone house in Switzerland, in touch with Salome and the Prophet Elijah, constructing a Weltanschauung out of his visions. Psychosis is evident in Jung; it is palpable in his "Memories, Dreams, Reflections." Yet, few people seem to hold this against him. He seems to be regarded as a beneficent, pipe-smoking saint.

Reich, however, is something else. On the basis of Sharaf's evidence, Reich was egomaniacal, prickly and sophomoric. He was also a trial to the friends he made and then lost in five countries. But until the last few years of his life, when Reich imagined sympathizers in high places and thought the Air Force was flying overhead to protect him, there apparently wasn't much outward connection with lunacy.

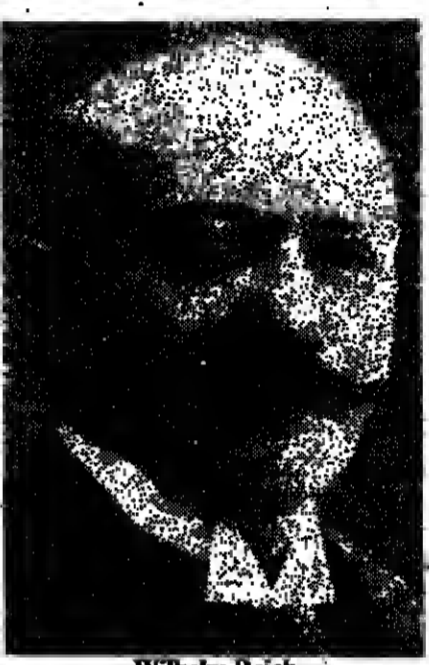
Unless, of course, we consider his work. Sharaf suggests that in its various manifestations there was something in Reich's work to offend nearly everyone, and that it was easier to imagine Reich mad than to contend with what he had to say. Thus, his earliest explorations into the orgone and its role in mental health offended the Victorian fustidians; his break with Freud, centering on Reich's insistence on finding social consequences in psychoanalysis, offended orthodox psychoanalysts; his attempts to synthesize psychoanalysis and Marxism (Reich was expelled from the Communist Party in 1934) offended nearly everyone else.

In discussing Reich's later work, Sharaf is less persuasive, even if fair-minded. Reich the psychoanalyst became Reich the natural scientist, exploring biology, physics and meteorology. He identified orgone energy, which he termed a natural atmospheric force, and he built the orgone energy accumulator—the orgone box, a box made from inorganic material.

Reich's experiments with the energy accumulators led to a prosecution by the Food and Drug Administration. The catalyst was an article in "The New Republic" in 1947 insinuating that Reich was a charlatan and swindler. Sharaf argues convincingly that the article was politically inspired, a retaliation against Reich for breaking with the Communist Party. Whatever the full truth, the article, picked up and quoted by other publications, determined the climate in which Reich would be judged.

And the judgment was harsh. Reich was sentenced to two years in prison; his books were burned. The FDA even consigned Reich's works in psychoanalysis to the bonfire. It was a shameful episode, made more shameful by the fact that Reich was not undeniably a disturbed man. He died after serving seven months at the federal penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Sharaf has written a masterly, even if sometimes worshipful, biography that rises above the limitations of Reich himself.

John Corry wrote this review for The New York Times.



Wilhelm Reich

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

THE opening bid of two diamonds by West is an example of the Flannery convention, popular in tournament play. It showed exactly four spades, exactly five hearts and 11 to 16 high-card points. East naturally corrected to two hearts, and North-South found

their way into three no-trump. It might not be obvious at first sight, but the heart eight in the declarer's hand was a key card. South won the opening lead of the heart ten with the jack. He then cashed two diamond winners and three club winners to reach the position with the lead in dummy (diamond previous column).

Since the club jack had fallen conveniently, South could cash the club ten and throw a diamond from his hand. He continued with a heart, and forced West to lead from the spade king at the finish to give him his contract. In view of the opening bid, the winning spade guess at the finish was easy to judge.

If South had begun with Q-1-3 of hearts and East with 8-7-5, careful defense would defeat the contract. East would have an opportunity to gain the lead in hearts to play a spade.

NORTH				EAST			
	♠	♥	♦		♠	♥	♦
WEST	AK94	QJ8	AK103	EAST	AK94	QJ8	AK103

Neither side was vulnerable. The bidding:

	West	North	East	South
1	2♦	Pass	2♥	Pass
2	Pass	3♥	Pass	Pass
3	Pass	3NT	Pass	Pass
4	Pass	Pass	Pass	Pass

West led the heart ten.

Canadian Stock Markets

Toronto				Montreal			
	High	Low	Close		High	Low	Close
AMCA Int	32.00	31.50	31.75	Bank of Montreal	31.00	30.50	30.75
Alcan	28.00	27.50	27.75	Can Pac	28.00	27.50	27.75
Alcan Int	28.00	27.50	27.75	Can Pac Int	28.00	27.50	27.75
Alcan Int	28.00	27.50	27.75	Can Pac Int	28.00	27.50	27.75
Alcan Int	28.00	27.50	27.75	Can Pac Int	28.00	27.50	27.75
Alcan Int	28.00	27.50	27.75	Can Pac Int	28.00	27.50	27.75
Alcan Int	28.00	27.50	27.75	Can Pac Int	28.00	27.50	27.75
Alcan Int	28.00	27.50	27.75	Can Pac Int	28.00	27.50	27.75
Alcan Int	28.00	27.50	27.75	Can Pac Int	28.00	27.50	27.75

Source: TSE 300 Index.

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